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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

ADULT EDUCATION AND THE CURRENT MODERNIZATION MOVEMENT IN CHINA: 1978 - 1986

BY

JULIA NAI-RONG PAN

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
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MASTER OF EDUCATION

IN
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DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA, CANADA

SPRING, 1989

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.....
(Supervisor)

.....

.....

Date: Dec. 14, 1988

DEDICATION

Whatever is of value in this thesis is dedicated
to the men and women serving adult education
in my country -- China.

ABSTRACT

Adult education in China, along with the launching of the modernization movement since 1978, has become a very strong awakening force across the country. The current adult education system, in terms of its nature and content, is formulated and expanded in accordance with the demands of the country's modernization drive and particularly, the economic reform and reconstruction.

The major purpose of this study is to identify the influence of China's current social structural reforms on the rapid expansion of adult education in the past decade. The writer seeks to reassess the adult educational "boom" in the modernization movement to ascertain if the current Western established theories on adult education and national development are congruent with the Chinese model. In addition, it is also the author's intention to arouse the awareness of the Chinese adult education circle about the updated developments of adult education worldwide by introducing and recommending those current theories and practice in this field which may serve as references to the further development of adult education in China.

This study has painted with broad strokes a picture of adult education within China's cultural, social and political-economic context. The author has elaborated the correlational linkage between the country's ongoing "Four Modernizations Movement" and the rapid development of adult education during the post-Mao period from 1978 to 1987.

The main findings of the study reveals that the emergence of the adult education "boom" is caused by modernization movement and in turn, it serves as the catalyst for national development. The present adult education enterprise, which has been developed as compensation for the educational impairment suffered in the cultural revolution, is much more an economic than a social service. The discipline of adult education is a means for relieving the shortage of domestic skilled manpower, and therefore, its formation remains in the conventional mode of institutionalized, instrumental-oriented programs.

Nevertheless, along with the country's opening up to the outside world, there is every indication that the Chinese adult education system will eventually work towards a stage of discretionary education with, as its constituents, the goals of social emancipation and personal development.

Three recommendations concerning research, teacher's training and mobilization of involvement in adult education were made for the further improvement of the field in China.

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Especial thanks go to Dr. Elsie Park Gowan, a prominent Edmonton playwright who offers me a pleasant home, and to my loving and caring friends, the Brese family.

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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

Today, adult education as an integral part of national education, is being given increasing attention by more national governments and by non-governmental organizations. One of the most striking characteristics of adult education as a field is its diversity, and with the fact that it is so widely dispersed throughout society, for the struggle of humanity, for national freedom and dignity, for progress and development -- for the better life.

Adult education has long existed in China in various settings until the ten-year "cultural revolution" (1966-1976). The domestic political turmoil resulted in a disastrous collapse of the whole education system. Since the death of Mao Ze-dong and the official end of the "cultural revolution" in 1976, the country has entered a very different transitional period in its history -- a period best described as one of reform and development. The drive to achieve 'Four Modernizations' by the end of this century calls for far-reaching changes in China's agriculture, industry, national defence, and science and technology. The late premier Zhou En-lai first articulated the general goal of modernizing China in these four areas in the mid-1960s, and then again in the mid-1970s, but opposition from China's radicals prevented any basic policy shifts until after Mao's death. Major changes began when Deng Xiao-ping emerged as the dominant figure in China's leadership in late 1978; the introduction of sweeping reform policies accelerated and these reforms have steadily broadened.

Adult education, along with the launching of the modernization movement in 1978, has become a very strong awakening force across the entire country. Mirroring a return to competition, individual motivation, the de-emphasis on political ideological transformation, a renewed respect for intellectuals and academic study, and re-emphasis on financial planning and market mechanism throughout the entire society, adult education programs have been transformed as well.

Since the beginning of the 1980's, the Chinese government has increasingly viewed adult education as critical to the modernization process. With the adoption of the 'open door policy', more and more advanced techniques and modern productive equipment are being adopted, consequently, raising the capacity of the present workforce has become an urgent need. The number of adult education institutions at all levels has greatly increased. In the adult higher education section particularly, the enrollment number has had a marginal increase since the beginning of the 1980s. There were 1,128,000 people in the adult higher institutions in 1983 compared to 415,000 from 1958 to 1965; and the number continued to jump to 1,293,000 in 1984 and 1,725,000 in 1985 -- the compatible number as the general higher education enrollment. According to the statistics at the end of 1986, the number in adult higher education is 1,860,000; the number in adult secondary education including technical and vocational programs is 9,748,000 and there are 8,172,000 in the primary adult education programs. The total number of adult education participants throughout the country is nineteen million seven hundred and eighty thousand.[1] This has never occurred on such a large grand scale before in China's history.

1.1. The Background of the Study

It was reported by the China News Agency recently that according to the "Unesco Symposium of Illiteracy Teaching Material Compilation of Asian Pacific Area" held in Harbin, China in August 1988, there are 884,000,000 illiterates above the age of fifteen all over the world today, of which, 220,000,000 are in China[2] -- the country with one fifth of the world's population and one fourth of the world's illiterates. This startling fact strongly indicates the task of education in China.

---

[1] "Statistic Bulletin of National Economy and Social Development in 1986" -- by the National Statistics Bureau of China. Beijing: People's Daily Feb. 21, 1987.

[2] Beijing: Renming Ribao (People's Daily, Overseas Edition) August 18, 1988, p.1

Taking a brief overview, the development of China's education system since 1949 has much improved the educational profile of the country's manpower. The educational profile was, however, lowered as a result of the decrease in higher and technical/vocational education and training during the 'Cultural Revolution'. Because of the closure of schools and universities, China has had to forego the estimated two million middle-level technicians and one million college and university graduates who would otherwise have been graduated during the late 1960s and early 1970s. There is now a scarcity of skilled manpower in many sectors of the economy. Simultaneously, the quality of education suffered, and a generation of Chinese (about 160 million) now in their thirties received an education that was misoriented and low in quality.

The 1982 Census indicates that by comparing the educational attainment of China's current population in the 25+ age group with data for neighbouring Asian countries in table 1.1, China compares well with many of its developing country neighbours in having a fairly low "no schooling" rate and satisfactory percentage of primary school graduates. However, China has the lowest population of higher education graduates. As expected, the profiles for Japan and the USSR are far superior to that of China.

Therefore, adult education, which is considered as a 'short cut' to provide required manpower to the country's economic reconstructions, has become a vital access to change the backward status, particularly since the year of 1978 -- the initiation of the country's modernization movement.

Table 1.1: Educational Profiles: China and Other Asian Countries
(percentage of population in the 25+ age group)

Countries	No schooling	Incomplete primary education	Complete primary education	junior secondary education	senior secondary education	Higher education
China	38	16	31	10	4	0.7
Philippines	20	------ 56 ------		----- 14 ------		9.6
Thailand	34	------ 61 ------		------- 4 -------		1.1
Korea (Rep.)	---	------ 73 ------		----- 22 ------		5.6
Hong Kong	29	------- 42 -------		10	------ 19 -------	
Singapore	48	------ 29 ------		----- 21 ------		2.0
India	72	------ 23 ------		----- 4 ------		1.1
Pakistan	81	2	6	4	4	3.4
Bangladesh	82	------ 10 ------		----- 7 ------		0.9
Japan	1	------ 61 ------		----- 33 -------		5 .5
USSR	------- 48 -------		-----	----- 44 -------		7.2

Source: A World Bank Country Study: China -- Socialist Economic Development
Volume III p. 135 The World Bank, Washington, D.C. 1983

1.2. Problem Statement

The major purpose of this study is to examine the relationship of adult education and national development in China in the post-Mao period from 1978 to 1986. The writer seeks to reassess the rapid adult educational expansion and the modernization movement in China to see if the current Western established theories on adult education and national development are congruent with the Chinese model.

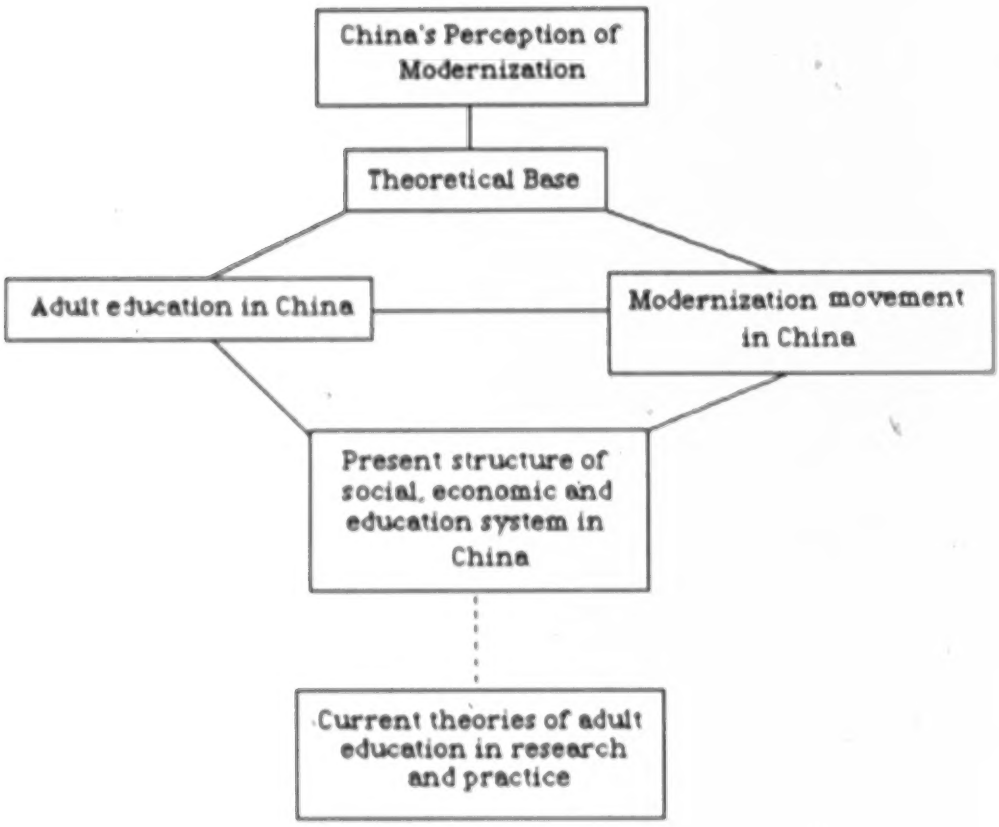
The research is developed in relation to the following objectives:

1. To describe the present structure of the social, economic and educational system in China, with the identification of Chinese traditional and cultural impact on the present system.

2. To compare current theories of adult learning and policy making, research methods, teacher's training and educational practice with the Chinese mode; to examine the positive features and weaknesses of the adult educational practice in the current modernization movement in China.

3. To present an overview of adult educational development worldwide, and to determine its relevance for the promotion of the adult education enterprise in China.

The following diagram will depict the targets and the conceptual framework of the study:


China's Perception of Modernization
Theoretical Base
Adult education in China
Modernization movement in China
Present structure of social, economic and education system in China
Current theories of adult education in research and practice

_____ Definite Connection

..... Possible Connection

1.3. Significance of the Study

The growth of adult education activities in China has been very encouraging in the recent decade. Yet, the nature of adult education can not be described solely by quantitative indicators. The aim of adult education should go beyond serving merely as the promoter of economic growth. Even though an increasing amount of literature since 1978 has been devoted to economic reform for the modernization in China, and its influence on the country's educational expansion and change as well, few researchers have made any comparisons of the Western theories of modernization and the role of education with China's perception. The work done by those in the field of adult education in China falls short of an adequate explanation of the linkage between education and national development with the theoretical base.

Hence, this study is an attempt to provide such a focus. The author hopes that the outcome of the study will contribute to the further development of adult education in China, based on culturally relevant theory, supported by field research.

1.4. Delimitations of the Study

This study is subject to certain delimitations in order to restrict it to manageable proportions. The delimitations are mainly concerned with time, population and geography.

1. The time focus of the study is on the period after the "cultural revolution" from 1978 to 1986 which is regarded as a new era for Chinese national reconstruction.

2. The research focuses particularly on the setting of adult education although the regular education structure is the main part of the education system in China. However, since the link between regular education and adult education settings is indeed intertwined, it might be necessary to refer to regular education in some analyses. Nevertheless, the main emphasis will be placed on adult education.

3. When doing data collection and analysis, the author will take the urban-industrial region in Shanghai municipality as the geographical area for investigation, and the main

focus will be put on upper-secondary level of adult institutions for this level has had the highest growth rate during the specified period of time with which this thesis is concerned.

1.5. Design of the Study

Given the focus of the study, which is to examine and identify the implementation of adult education and its role in the current modernization movement in China, both descriptive and analytical study approaches will be employed. Since the study aimed to display and analyze the rapid expansion of adult education programs in China during the recent decade, the data collection techniques in this study comprises documentary analysis and interviews.

Use of documents

A 'document' refers to any source that provides evidence or information (Sax, 1979:49). A wide range of literature and documents concerning China including political, sociological and cultural ideology of educational practice as well as the theories and implementation of the social and economical reforms in the post-Cultural Revolution period were reviewed. The documents may also include such materials as some available Chinese newspapers like China Daily, Beijing Review, Renmin Ribao (People's Daily), and Guangming Ribao (Clarity Daily). The review of those documents was done to augment the information obtained from the interviews.

Other relevant primary source material consulted were Chinese government documents, and official publications from the statistical departments of the international organizations like the World Bank, Unesco and CIDA. These were necessary in order to provide some statistic numbers which were lacking in China's present research system.

Interviews

Sax (1979:232) indicates that the interview is a method of data collection in research which "represents a direct attempt by the researcher to obtain reliable and valid measures in the form of verbal responses from one or more respondents." During her field research trip

to China for the data collection in June 1987, the writer conducted some personal interviews in Shanghai, mostly with administrators in policy making departments and executive members in tertiary level of adult educational institutions. There were ninety two institutes offering adult higher education programmes in Shanghai. Among them, two were under the auspices of the municipal authority, namely the Shanghai Television University and the Shanghai Municipal Sparetime Institute of Technology; ten were sponsored by district administrations; fifty eight were managed by economic and industrial enterprises; and twenty two evening and correspondence institutes were set up by regular universities. In all, fourteen executive members and researchers in adult education field were interviewed. The interviewees included three government officials in Municipal Education Bureau, four directors of education research institutes, four deans of adult education colleges and three researchers in the field of adult education who were directly involved in policy making, educational research and curriculum set up for the adult education institutions.

Three government officials of the Shanghai Municipal Education Bureau and four directors of the education research institutes were interviewed for they were the policy implementers in terms of practising the educational guidelines and prinsciples formulated by the central government, meanwhile they were the policy makers of the adult education section in Shanghai area and definitely provided some input into the programs. Noting that research work is an element prevalent in development of adult education in the past decade, it was thought appropriate to interview a few researchers and instructors in the field to get their perceptions of the correlation of research and practice. The writer considered that it was important to interview the deans of the adult education institutes for they could provide objective data which were not available in documentary sources. These data were judged to be important in the identification, understanding and interpretation of the circumstances, conditions and relationships that exist in the adult educational practices. Under the above set up criteria, the choice of the interviewees was based on who were available to be interviewed

during the period of the writer's research trip in Shanghai from May 18th. to June 23rd. 1987.

Referring to the nature of this study, unstructured interviews were conducted for it would give the respondents greater flexibility and freedom to answer the questions in a deeper manner, while the researcher would also have the freedom to ask questions in any order to seek further clarification when necessary. (Please see appendix I & II for the identification of the interviewees and the theme questions used in interviews.)

Data Analysis

Since the method of data collection was basically a case study approach, with the use of personal interviews of key personnel, and a detailed examination of documents, the following data analysis techniques have been used in this study.

1. Descriptive exposition of the findings, and
2. Analytical interpretation of data collected is also made in the light of research questions raised and the relationship of adult education expansion and the country's structural reforms discussed in Chapter Four and Chapter Five.

1.6. Definition of Terms

A number of terms which will be used throughout study need to be defined.

Modernization: Modernization is the current term for an old process -- the process of social change whereby less developed societies acquire characteristics common to more developed countries. When one speaks of the modernization in underdeveloped Third World countries, the term is equivalent to "Westernization."[3]

If speaking concisely of those similarities of achievement observed in all societies, whether Western or non-Western, the hard core of observed common ground is economic. It was along the continuum of economic performance that societies could most

---

3 Sills, David (Ed.) International Encyclopedia of the Social Science p. 386
Crowell Collier and Macmillan Inc. 1968

readily and unambiguously be aligned, compared, and rated. Therefore, modernization is the process of social change in which development is the economic component.[4]

The Four Modernizations Movement in China: In the year of 1976, when the 'cultural revolution' officially ended, the new leadership began the task of redirecting China's domestic and foreign policies toward the goal of modernizing industry, agriculture, science and technology, and national defence. The overall domestic goal was to reach a level of industrial and agricultural productivity, military preparedness, and scientific progress equal to that of other major would powers, by the year of 2000.

Adult Education: Adult education is the process whereby persons who no longer attend school on a regular and full-time basis undertake sequential and organized activities with a conscious intention of bringing about changes in information, knowledge, understanding or skills, appreciation and attitudes, or for the purpose of identifying and solving personal or community problems.

Adult Education in China: Adult education in China is the means of education for those who became employed or entered urban or rural production, have to receive continuing or remedial education. There are all levels of adult education programs set up in different institutions such as Employee Universities, TV and Broadcast Universities, Correspondence Colleges, Secondary Technique Schools and primary level programs mostly for the illiterate in rural areas. The programs of the adult education department are basically viewed as school equivalency.

Education Needs and Education Demand: Each society needs a certain number of educated citizens, more or less specifically qualified, at certain levels and with one or another prospect in view, including that in the social structural changes. Generally speaking, this need stems in the first place from the economy, but it may also be generated

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4 Ibid.

by a variety of other sources, including the state itself, which has to recruit administrative personnel and may also have political motives for pushing educational development. The most positive among these is that of raising the people's cultural level and enhancing their consciousness, out of concern to create the conditions for greater mass participation in democratic processes. Then there is the demand for education which becomes a collective phenomenon. (Unesco: Learning to Be p.26)

Lifelong Learning or Lifelong Education: This refers to the entire educational process from birth to death of which adult education is an integral part. Emphasis here is on education acquired both through the formal education system and outside the education system (Darkenwald & Merriam, 1982). It is a term preferred by Unesco.

1.7. Organization of the Thesis

There are six chapters following the introduction of this thesis. Chapter two is a review of the related theories on the role of adult educational expansion in social development. The literature review falls into four sections: (1) The developing concept of adult and lifelong education supplemented with a version of educational needs and demands and their implications for present adult educational policy making and practice; (2) The exposition of development, modernization according to China's perception, followed by China's theoretical foundation for building socialism; (3) The contribution of adult education to development followed by an overview of Chinese policies on adult education indicating the nature of adult education system in China; and (4) Trends in adult education worldwide, as indications for the future of adult education.

Chapter three presents a review and an analysis of the political, cultural, social and economic paradigm shifts on Chinese society since the founding of the People's Republic of China, and how those shifts influence educational changes during the past four decades.

Chapter four is a general examination of the nature and the goals of adult education in China, from the guiding principles to the present structure of the entire system. This includes an explanation for the rapid expansion of undertakings of adult education.

Chapter five provides a comparative study on the incentive for adult educational participation by comparing some motivational theories with Chinese examples to see whether they are congruent or not.

Chapter six focuses on identifying the major problems and reform issues in the field of adult education in China. Some current theories and models for educational policy making, the viewpoints of research method and teacher's training as well as program coordination are provided for China's reference to build an effective adult education system along with the country's modernization processes.

Chapter seven is the conclusion of this study. An overall review of the findings in the preceding chapters is made, and some comments on the future perspective is indicated.

CHAPTER II. THEORETICAL REVIEW: ADULT EDUCATION AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

There is a considerable body of literature that seeks to explore the trends and functions of adult education in social development. Changes in society and the developmental objectives of the nation entail alterations in the systems of education; conversely, educational goals usually call for social, economic, cultural or political reforms. It has been recognized in recent decades that it is the duty of adult educators to identify and suggest such reforms.[1]

China, after thirty five zig-zag years exploring national development since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, has embarked on the track of modernizing the country mainly in the fields of industry, agriculture, national defence, and science and technology. Education, which had long been a tool of "proletarian dictatorship" , has been greatly emphasized since 1978 as a key to the modernization. However, because of the country's long isolation from the outside world, much effort is required to understand recent global tendencies in development.

The literature review for this thesis will refer to the following three major themes:

1) The concept of adult and lifelong education;

2) Adult education and social change; and

3) The role and purpose of adult education in national development.

2.1. Developing Concept of Adult and Lifelong Education

In a recommendation concerning the Development of Adult Education at the Unesco General Conference in Nairobi, October 1976, it was stated that adult education

> *denotes the entire body of organized educational processes, whatever the content, level and method, whether formal or otherwise, whether they prolong to replace initial education in schools, colleges and universities as well as in apprenticeship, whereby persons regarded as adult by the society to which they belong develop*

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[1] Unesco, Third International Conference on Adult Education (Tokyo) p.17

their abilities, enrich their knowledge, improve their technical or professional qualifications or turn them in a new direction and bring about changes in their attitudes or behavior in the two-fold perspective of full personal development and participation in balanced and independent social, economic and cultural development.

It is "an integral part of a global scheme for lifelong education and learning." And lifelong education and learning denotes an overall scheme aimed both at restructuring the existing educational system and at developing the entire educational potential outside the education system (UNESCO, 1976).

Awareness of the mismatch between education on the one hand and the social and economic needs on the other, has thus caused the development of the strategy of lifelong education. The concept of lifelong education takes account in modern society of such pressures for recurring learning as:

-- the problems posed by scientific and technological advance;

-- the imperatives of economic and social development;

-- the pace of population explosion and rapid urbanization;

-- increased mobility and communications and the general influence of the mass media;

-- the demand for harmonious international and community relations.

Lifelong Education comprises three major components common to any learning situation -- material resources, human beings and the stock of knowledge (accumulated cultural experience), organized in such a way as to enable the individual:

1) To continue to extend his personal potential throughout his life;

2) To serve the economic well-being and progress of his people;

3) To live, learn and share in the development of human associations so as to improve the quality of life for all through the learning of each. (Lynch, 1977: 5)

To elaborate one step further on the societal learning, Botkin et al have raised up a proposal of 'innovative learning' which requires *anticipation* and *participation*. The nature

of anticipation is to deal with the future challenge of complexity, which is not limited to foreseeing or choosing among the desirable trends and averting catastrophic ones, it is also the creating of new alternatives (Botkin, Elmandjra & Malitza, 1979: 23). In a simple term, this kind of study emphasizes more on "problem posing".

While anticipation encourages more on "problem posing", participatory learning concentrates more on "problem solving". Besides, participation needs to stress identification, understanding and re-formulation of the problems. And it is believed that individuals can learn to anticipate and participate.

During the above learning processes, those scholars further contend that values, human relations and images are the basic elements of the study. Values are the base for learning motivation which play a crucial role in decision making. Human relations also contribute to learning as an important basis and an inherent aspect of participation, for the human group is a source of learning and action. In other words, individual is part of a very large number of human relationships. No less important, images, according to Botkin et al, with their integrative power and instant recall, should not be underestimated (Botkin et al , 1979: 40-42). Images are believed, besides their pertaining to individuals' inner and private life, also exist at the societal level, which link societal to individual learning. That is the way for educators to keep vision alive. On the whole, a proper balance of these elements -- values, human relations and images-- is a prerequisite for innovative learning.

From the above elaborated concepts of adult and lifelong education, it can be said that the nature of adult education is to promote the growth of the individual, with the result ultimately benefiting the society and the community. It must relate closely to personal and national aspirations. "Development obviously has its economic side, but the real development must depend on the balanced growth of the person, both as an economic and social being." (Coles, 1977: 4) Harbinson has also contended that "the wealth of a country is dependent upon more than its natural resources and material capital, it is

determined in significant degree by the knowledge, skills and motivation of its people." [2] There are thus strong grounds, based both on common justice for all as well as the need for improved economic competence, for adult education to be taken seriously as a branch of education equal to the conventional formal system.

"Lifelong learning", a conceptual approach likely to enhance innovative learning, has not yet penetrated many societies. The road to populize lifelong education seems to be rocky, for the conventional schooling systems are generally still too rigid to accept lifelong learning as a viable, widely available option. At the same time, it is also because of the cost factor particularly in Third World countries where conventional schooling saps all of their financial resources for education.

2.1.2. Educational Needs and Demands

The Open University report on continuing education suggested that continuing education has to respond to needs and demands in terms of personal (i.e. remedial or compensatory education, the extension of formal education, and satisfaction of personal objectives), economic (i.e. occupational re-orientation, preparation for new responsibilities on the job, training and retraining), vocational (i.e. attainment of professional and vocational qualifications, updating courses to offset obsolence in both knowledge and experience), and social (i.e. adapting to changing circumstances, an awareness of personal and social ethics and values, fulfillment of roles in the community both as economic and social beings) aspects. (Jarvis, 1985: 58) More significantly this demonstrates that no curriculum in the education of adults may be divorced from the wider social issues and imperatives.

There are also four general remarks on the issue of educational needs and demands pointed out by Unesco:

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[2] F.H. Harbinson, "The Development of Human Resources" in Economic Development of Africa Edited by E.F. Jackson, 1965.

> *First, the correlation between needs and demands is not always naturally harmonious.*
>
> *Second, disequilibrium may arise on either side. It is true that in many countries needs precede and exceed demands, while in many other countries, demands are greater than needs.*
>
> *Third, in many sectors and in most countries, these two factors fail to coincide. These disparities are all the more marked when educational systems attempt to match economic fluctuations. And, they are less acute in cases where, following a preliminary effort to meet the needs of the economy, a country has gone beyond the phases of trying to adapt education mechanically to the situation and has begun assigning it broader, more complex tasks.*
>
> *Fourth, educational needs and demands are both increasing enormously. The effects of this increase may be seen nearly everywhere in the world, in the form of an ever-greater share of national resources being allocated to education. (UNESCO, 1972: 26)*

2.1.3. Chinese Policies on Adult Education

In China, with its new quest for economic prosperity, both educational needs and demands are increasing greatly. With the painful experience of the ten-year 'cultural revolution' which cost the country a generation of advanced manpower, the present leadership is fully aware that education is the direct link to the success or failure of the 'four modernizations' programme. One of the state leaders Deng Xiao Ping stated at the National Conference on Science in 1978 that "Science and education are a productive force, not part of the superstructure as had wrongly been believed." The Party Secretary Hu Yaobang made the following comments at the same year in his address to the Twelfth National Congress:

> *To ensure that the ranks of the cadres become more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent is a long established principle of the Central Committee ... In the future, in our use and promotion of cadres, we must attach importance to educational background and academic records as well as to experience and achievements in work.*

Another official political-economist, Yu Guang Yuan, writes that "education is a decisive factor in the development of production." He addresses the imperative need to adapt the educational system to the demands of rapid economic development and urges that full education be given to the proper training of a limited pool of highly qualified personnel and to the improvement of basic schooling.

These broad policies established the context for both regular and adult education systems. The Chinese clearly view adult education as critical to the modernization process. Proceeding from the general national education guiding principles, Zang, then the Vice-minister responsible for the national adult education settings outlined in 1980 the following objectives for adult education in socialist modernization:

1. To identify adult education as a means to increase the rate of labour productivity;

2. To augment and renew scientific and technical knowledge of a work force that has basically been out of touch with recent development in its fields and professions.

3. To identify adult education as a major avenue for training specialists in various trades and industries such as engineers, agricultural and livestock specialists of all kinds, teachers, doctors and so on.

4. To build up the cultural level, necessary for a highly socialist cultural civilization.

All the Chinese policies above mentioned have verified the established theory that "great economic movements have always been accompanied by an expansion in education." (UNESCO, 1972: 29)

2.2 The Exposition of Development, Modernization and China's Perception

The concept of modernization which is built on the notion of development has been defined in purely economic terms, as well as in a more comprehensive way to encompass the quality of social conditions. "Modernization" or "development" are terms which refer generally to social-cultural processes and economic growth processes (Berger and Kellner, 1974: 13). And both of them involve highly bureaucratic and technological structures which carry with them profound implications for consciousness (Jones, 1984: 106). There appears to be a large area of agreement that among the salient characteristics of modernity are (1) a degree of self-sustaining growth in the economy; (2) an increment

of mobility in the society -- understood as personal freedom of physical, social and psychic movement; and (3) a corresponding transformation in the modal personality that equips individuals to function effectively in a social order.[3]

Much of the literature also assumes that the values, institutions, and patterns of action of traditional societies are both an expression and a cause of underdevelopment and constitute the main obstacles to modernization. To enter the modern world, underdeveloped societies have to overcome traditional norms and structures opening the way for social, economic, and political transformation. As Black (1966) noted "modernization is indeed a process that is simultaneously creative and destructive, providing new opportunities and prospects at a high price in human dislocation and suffering."[4] For others, modernization is based more on the actual transformation on individuals through their assimilation of modern values. But in general, the primary source of change is discussed in terms of innovation, that is, the rejection of procedures related to traditional institutions, together with the adoption of new ideas, techniques, values and organizations. The group that assumes this role inevitably clashes with defenders of the old order. The struggle is over two different ways of life.[5]

Chalmers Johnson sees the process of modernization as being composed of three sectors: namely economic, political and social development. As he elaborates further, economic development refers to increase in per capita productivity. Political development refers to increase in per capita representation in the political processes by which legitimate priorities binding on all are established. Social development refers to per capita increases

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[3] International Encyclopedia of the Social Science p.387

[4] Black, C.E. The Dynamics of Modernization Harper & Row Publishers, 1966. pp. 68-75

[5] Ibid

in level of living and ease of access to the means of self-fulfillment (e.g. educational opportunities).[6]

Peter Berger elaborated that under contemporary conditions, economic growth is usually the result of the introduction or improvement in the technological means of production and distribution. But these technological and economic processes do not occur in a vacuum, especially when they take place with the rapidity that is common today. Rather, they constitute a turbulent force that affects, increasingly, all the institutions and the entire culture of the society in question. It is this wider transformation that is commonly designated by the term "modernization'.[7] In other words, modernization refers to the institutional and cultural concomitants of economic growth under the conditions of sophisticated technology.

Nevertheless, a number of different views of development theory and practice in Western social science exist. Rostow's unilinear metaphor of development employs an implicit ethnocentricity which assumes that the least advanced countries will pass through the same route as the developed ones have done. Frequently, there is the implication that the poor countries, with whatever modifications necessitated by a different historical situation, will have to replicate the basic steps through which Western societies passed in their ascent from rags to riches. Rostow's notion of 'the stages of economic growth' neatly sums up this conception. It is supposed that the Western way of doing things is necessary if a nation is to modernize and to adapt to the conditions of twentieth century life. Therefore the developed nations in the Western hemisphere are pace setters for modernizing countries throughout the world. The former group provides models and patterns for development . The latter group should follow in their footsteps. As far as the poor countries are concerned, the theory of modernization most often results in practical

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6 Chalmers Johnson, Change in Communist System Stanford University Press, 1970,p.13

7 Peter Berger, Pyramids of Sacrifice London: Allen Lane, 1976, pp. 51-52

recipes of imitation: "Do as we did, and your problems will be solved." (Berger, 1976: 28)

Contrary to Rostow's exposition, Streeten argues his view of development namely the delinking perspective which replaced the unilinear one in the early 1970s. Those who adopt this view see the international conglomeration of rich-poor relationship as one which "produces and maintains the underdevelopment of the poor countries." The very existence of the rich countries makes it difficult, if not impossible, for poor countries to choose a style of development. Various income, wealth and status groups in developing countries, who constitute the ruling class, perpetuate and consolidate the 'international system of inequality and conformity' (Streeten, 1981). Developing countries, therefore, disassociate or delink themselves from the developed countries by a practice of isolation.

Analyzing the Marxist theories of development, Taylor (1979: 71-77) has criticized the shallowness of what he calls the 'discourse of underdevelopment'. In particular he is skeptical of the value of the concept of economic surplus and that of surplus absorption utilized by Baran. One of the paramount errors committed by Baran is to identify only one homogeneous mode of pre-capitalist production, while in fact, there exist a variety of non-capitalist modes of production, which undeniably, is the tubercle on China's development drive. After four decades of guidance under Marxism, Leninism and Mao Ze-dong thought, and with its GNP having fallen among the lowest in the world, China is now seeking a way to the modernization with 'Chinese characteristics'.

It is noticed that in China, with its specific nationally integrated economy, the means to modernization does not seem to follow the pattern of development in the Western countries. China's intention to embark on its own road of modernization is explicitly demonstrated in its concept of "building socialism with Chinese characteristics." Today in China, the goal of the modernization movement is to make the country step into a "well-off society by the end of the century. What Chinese call the "four modernizations" is the adoption of up-to-date practices in four key areas -- agriculture, industry, national

defence and science and technology. Thus, it is very obvious that China's perception of modernization basically has an economic orientation.

Nonetheless, modernization cannot be considered as a complete conception with the only advancement in economy as described by Chalmers Johnson. In fact, one can easily witness changes in all three sectors in the course of the current modernization drive in China, although the pace of development is different than that of the economics sector, which far surpasses the other two.

2.3 China's Theoretical Foundation of Building Socialism

After the Communist Party had shifted the country's general line from "class struggle" to "economic construction" in 1978, a preliminary exposition of the thesis was made in the report of the Central Committee to the Twelfth Party Congress in 1982, which said:" The present Chinese society remains in the primary stage of socialism." "It is of the first importance to the building of socialism with 'Chinese characteristics' and the most essential basis on which to formulate and implement the correct lines and policies."[8]

The above expositions were based on both historical and realistic views. First of all, due to the Chinese socialism has emerged from the womb of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal society with the destiny of going through a fairly long primary stage to accomplish industrialization, commercialization, socialization and modernization of production, which many other countries have achieved under capitalist conditions. Although China's productive forces have experienced good development, its per capita gross national product still ranks among the lowest in the world. The picture is explicit: out of a population of more than one billion, 750 million are rural and, for the most part, use hand tools to make living. A certain number of modern industries coexist with many industries that are several decades behind current standards. Some regions that are fairly

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[8] Ma Ji, "The Primary Stage of Socialism and the Development of Marxism" Social Science in China No. 1, 1988, p.9 (translated from Chinese in original version)

economically developed coexist with vast areas that are underdeveloped and impoverished. A small amount of science and technology is up to the highest world standards while the scientific and technological level as a whole is low, and nearly one-quarter of the population remains illiterate or semi-illiterate. Party leader Zhao Zi-yang indicated that "China's present socialist economic system is not yet mature and well developed. In the realm of the superstructure, a more profound reform is required in the bureaucracy and to the widespread influence of decadent feudalistic ideologies. All this shows that the country has a long distance to cover before it advances beyond the primary stage of socialism." [9] In short, building socialism in a big, less developed country like China is something alien to the history of the development of Marxism. It is not the situation envisaged by the founders of Marxism in which socialism is built on the basis of highly developed capitalism, nor should it be the mode for China to indiscriminately imitate the other socialist countries.

The "socialist primary stage" is the theory the present leadership put forward as the party's basic line on "building socialism with Chinese characteristics," namely, to lead the people of all Chinese nationalities in a united, self-reliant, intense effort to turn China into a strong, democratic, culturally advanced and modern socialist country by making economic development the central task. In this sense, the "primary stage of socialism" serves as an ideological weapon for China's present reform as the leading body is searching a way to "build socialism with Chinese characteristics in the practice of integrating the basic principles of Marxism with China's realities." The concept of 'primary stage of socialism" was invented in order to borrow certain elements from capitalism and to use them to serve China's current modernization drive, for Marxist theory permits a mixed economy in the early stages of socialism.

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9 Ibid p.12

In a recent theoretical research seminar in Beijing, the participants pointed out that to expand the productive forces, it was necessary to reform the existing structures including that of economy, politics, technology and culture, for the rigid structures built up over the years had seriously hampered the development of the productive forces.[10] It is obvious that the "primary stage of socialism" concept deviates from Mao's "Continued revolution" stand, of which the "class struggle was the core. Conversely, the present leader Zhao said that China's principal task, for the next sixty years, would be production -- not the class struggle that had been emphasized in the past. Reform is the driving force of developing the productive forces, the way China must follow.[11]

2.4. Educational Expansion for National Development: Human Capital Theory and other Alternative Expositions

It was assumed that the only solution to the problem of underdevelopment among poor nations was to enable them to accelerate their economic growth. Physical capital that could implement development was discovered to be missing factor in the less developed countries. Capital granted to Europe under the Marshall Plan proved to be productive. Therefore, to many policy makers, it meant that large capital infusion plus the transfer of modern technology... would enable these countries struggling economies to take off into self-sustaining process of economic development and modernization (Coomb, 1985: 14-15). In accordance with this assumption, it was suggested that continued economic growth would be primarily dependent upon the human resources -- trained manpower rather than on mere traditional economic inputs of ordinary labour and physical capital. Thus, human capital theorists -- Harbison, Mayers and others in the early 1960's identified the importance of formal education to economy as being chiefly through the provision of trained and high level manpower.

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10 Report: A Summary of a Discussion by Theoreticians, Journalists and Publishers in Beijing Social Science in China No.1, 1988, p.14

11 Scott Simmie, "A Touch of Capitalism" Maclean's November 9, 1987, p.24

A human capital chain was formed under the human capital theories: through schooling, the productivity of individual workers would be improved. As a result, the incomes of the workers and the national economic growth would be enhanced as well. Therefore, the economic values of education, it is believed, benefit the individuals with raised earnings and the country with economic growth which is indicated by increased national income. In addition to the above benefit, educational expansion is considered not only accelerates national economy, but also narrows social inequalities as the society concerned (Sobel, 1978: 66).

During the period of 1950 to 1970s, a phenomenal universal education growth was termed as a "world educational revolution". However, towards the end of 1960's, the human capital theory had been seriously questioned because of the ineffectiveness of economic growth and greater social inequality in the Third World countries. "World crisis in education" which was pointed out by Philip Coombs and other conflict theorists of education, became a significant issue in the field of education worldwide. There emerged an alternative explanation of the relationship between formal education and national development: after two decades of great expansion in education worldwide from the middle of 1950s to 1970s, instead of solving the problems, further intensified and, created new social problems in the less developed countries. Some of the problems have serious implications for the development process.

Contrary to what human capital theorists assumed, the alternative explanation contends that the consequences of the rapid expansion of secondary and tertiary level education in the 1960s and 1970s was that educated manpower was being produced faster than the sector of economy of these countries could absorb in employment and rates of payment. Furthermore, schooling had fuelled rural-urban migration and increased unemployment and under-employment, which intensified the role of schooling as a process of qualification earning. This process has been elaborated vividly by Ronald Dore as "certification" or "Diploma Disease" (Dore, 1976: Chapter 1).

To summarize the above expositions on education expansion and national development, this study intends to examine:

(1) What is the role of educational expansion in China's continuing social reform or "modernization movement"?

(2) Which theory -- the human capital theory or the alternative expositions as 'education crisis'-- explains better the relationship between education and the country's development in China?

2.5. The Contribution of Adult Education to Development

An essential feature of modernization is a related process which is called mobilization. It means the organization of a state's human resources to enable it make a maximum effort in development. Obviously it has great significance in relation to education, both in the formal sense and in the informal or non-formal sense. The people of any state are more likely to be able to develop their resources the greater the degree to which they command knowledge and skills. Modernization theorists have overwhelmingly assumed that adult education is the quickest and surest way to improve skills among low-technical level workers and peasants, thus making them more employable, and reducing unemployment and underemployment. Blaug contends that underlying the human capital theory are several preconceptions which form themselves into a human capital chain'. In this chain, Sobel presumes that schooling is linked to productivity and productivity to earnings (Sobel, 1978: 66). As a result of schooling, it is held, productivity of individual workers will be improved, thus their earnings will be raised and, these workers would collectively form a technically productive workforce that would enhance the national economic growth. Therefore, the economic values of education, it is asserted, benefit the individuals with raised earnings and the country with national economic growth as measured by increased national income. It is also believed that equality of educational opportunities would automatically result from the expansion of

the school system. Given an equal chance to obtain education, it is argued that, the poor and the disadvantaged would be provided an opportunity and a means to social and economic mobility. And so, educational expansion not only enhances national economic development, but also narrows social inequalities in the society concerned.

Since adult education programs are more closely related to the world of work than are other education programs, the effectiveness of programs for economic and social development will continue to be measured by how much they multiply the return on society's investment in them. As long as society views economic self-sufficiency as a major goal of the system, sees the individuals in the system as human capital, and considers outlays for education as investments in this capital which one expected to produce a return, adult education will continue to be a high priority in the allocation of economic resources.[12]

2.6. The Trends of Adult Educational Development Worldwide from 1960s to 1980s: the Retrospective View of the International Conferences on Adult Education

"Towards a learning society' is the present objective of adult education world-wide. From the global view, adult education has, during the past three decades, experienced a tremendous development in terms of its conceptual and practical processes. It is emerging from its marginal position in relation to formal educational systems and is moving towards a central role in society's over-all provision for education. The output of three Unesco and ICAE convened international conferences on adult education in 1960 (Montreal), 1972 (Tokyo) and 1982 (Paris) could well express the evolution and development of the cause of adult education in the past thirty years.

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[12] Rothman, S. "State Government, Social Problems and Systems Analyst: A Clash of Culture" Educational Technology No.10, 1970, pp.18-19. Quoted in (Boone & Shearon, 1980: 142).

2.6.1. Montreal Conference (Canada, 1960)

The Montreal Conference under the theme of "Adult Education in a Changing World" was a great success as represented by fifty-one countries compared with twenty-nine at the First Unesco Conference on Adult Education in Elisinore (Denmark, 1948). The latter was preoccupied with the concerns of industrially developed countries, reflecting the post-war mood of reconstruction. The Montreal Conference was the first one during which the aims and functions of adult education were studied in a global contest, and the agreement on the interaction of three significant factors was clarified: First, the determination of policy makers, professional administrators and adult educationists to define their field of concern more precisely; second, the identification of contemporary crisis in education in general which had aroused a ferment of debate and led to the popularizing of the concept of lifelong learning; third, the tendency of developing countries to see the education of adults as a national instrument for promoting and regulating social change and economic growth rather than as something for private consumption. (Lowe, 1982: 20)

The second aim of the conference was to see where adult education might fit into schemes for introducing lifelong learning system. From the end of the sixties there has been much discussion about the desirability of implementing the concept of 'necessary and lifelong education' heralded by the Montreal Conference. The issue became a challenging concept. What happened in the1960s to enhance the importance of adult education was that social, economic, and political innovations, forced more and more policy makers to the conclusion that life in the modern world for the great majority of people is becoming intolerable without the appropriate knowledge, skills and attitudes to cope with it.

Regarding adult education and national goals, the evidence was abundant that in the developing countries, the emphasis was on economic development and national integration, while in the developed countries, the economic aspect -- training for industry and commerce -- was also important but overshadowed by the necessity of dealing with the

threatening social problems which seem to accompany material progress. In both types of country it was realized that suitable educational schemes were required in order to counter the deleterious effects of modernization.

2.6.2. Tokyo Conference (Japan, 1972)

The Tokyo Conference, with four hundred delegates representing eighty-two states, reflected the world's step into the 'Lifelong Learning' era. This policy-oriented conference raised adult education on a higher plateau to shift the emphasis from a subject-centered to a problem-oriented approach. Aware of the urgent need to expand educational opportunities within integrated lifelong education systems, the conference promoted vigorously the awareness in terms of *education and human needs* ; educational participation; the use of the mass media; and international cooperation.

The report of the conference made clear that the full use of the mass media as an arm of adult education, the training of personnel capable of assisting adults to learn effectively, and the initiation of research designed to explore people's needs and the means of meeting them were so interlinked that nothing less than the formulation of comprehensive policies for the development of adult education placed within the context of lifelong education would suffice. (UNESCO, 1975: 180)

Under the aspect of *International Co-operation,* the conference put forward the dominant motif: the education of disadvantaged adults -- an issue that aroused passionate feelings. Irrespective of their political ideologies, technologically advanced and economically backward countries alike testified that the overwhelming majority of their populations were not participating in adult education and that this same majority was mainly composed of the socially and economically deprived. In the challenging words of the *Final Report:*

> *Experience shows that the provision of more education in most communities tends to favour most the already well educated; the educationally underprivileged have yet to claim their rights. Adult education is no exception to the rule, for these*

> *adults who most need education have been largely neglected -- they are the forgotten people. Thus, the major task of adult education during the Second Development Decade of the United Nations is to seek out and serve these forgotten people.*[13]

2.6.3. Paris Conference (France 1982)

The Paris Conference, sponsored by The International Council for Adult Education (ICAE), attracted nearly 600 delegates from 112 countries. In the face of global economic and political crises, the theme and topics focused on the dynamics of reaffirmation and renewal: renewal of adult education as the key to the authentic development of ourselves and our societies; renewal of the efforts and commitment to people in most need and not yet served; and renewal of adult education as a social movement.[14]

The twelve Policy Working Groups were working under the certain sub-themes for *Social Action for Development*, *Development of Adult Education*, and *International Cooperation and Solidarity* with the related topics like 'Education and Work', 'Primary Health Care', 'Women's Issues', 'Links between Formal and Non-formal Education', 'Culture and Communication', 'Education and Peace', Implications of the New Technology', and 'Problem of Migration and Immigration' and so forth. The outcomes of the conference reflected that adult education, as an integral part of individual and social transformation, may well have emerged in these days of uncertainties and crises in the world as a movement better able to play an effective role in the days ahead. Furthermore, it showed itself as a movement which calls for democratic interaction across all borders and respect for different cultures, and the sacred cause which begins with faith in people and in their ability, one day, to reach a world where quality and justice come first.[15]

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13 UNESCO, Final Report: Third International Conference on Adult Education p.19.

14 Budd Hall, "The Paris Conference: Renewal of a Movement" Convergence Vol.16 No.1, 1983, p.1.

15 Ibid. p.7

To recapitulate the outcomes of the above three significant World Conferences on Adult Education, two aspects could be specially captured in terms of the trends and development of adult education: first, the evolution, expansion and developments of the adult education enterprise during the past three decades are indicative of the fact that adult education is becoming less marginal to the main stream of education, and increasingly regarded as an important and growing part of it. And more important, it is broadly accepted that the aim of adult education is to 'develop a critical understanding of major contemporary problems and social changes as well as the ability to play an active part in the progress of society with a view to achieving social justice. The evidence is abundant that adult education, at the present era, is both an educational process and a process of social change.

Second, adult education is concerned with what might be called "globalization" of human activities, henceforth placed in a world-wide context. Yet, despite the clear awareness of the world-wide nature of problems, it will be more important to have analytic and predictive tools with which to tackle them. In keeping with this mission, the efforts must be placed, indicated by the Unesco Medium-Term Plan,[16] on the following aspects:

1) To contribute to a continuing study of present world problems so as to create a greater awareness of the common destiny which unites individuals and peoples alike.

2) To help pave the way for the widest participation by individuals and groups in the societies in that of the world community.

3) To strive to facilitate the changes and transitions that are now recognized as necessary by the international community as a whole, and

4) To arise and encourage a renewal of values within a context of genuine understanding among peoples, thereby advancing the cause of peace and human rights.

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[16] UNESCO, "A Course for the Future" Convergence Vol.16 No.2, 1983, p.8

Looking at the above missions, it is not hard to anticipate that in the future, adult education will continue to serve social needs as well as offer opportunities for human liberation. "Adult education can play an important role, only if it is not content to be merely a compensatory instrument."[17]

2.7. Summary

In this chapter, the writer has reviewed the related literature on the notion of adult and lifelong education which has seen tremendous development during the past three decades; the correlational relationship of adult education with national development or modernization; the exposition of development and modernization supplemented with China's perception has been examined; and finally, the trends of adult education development world-wide have been commented.

The review has shown that lifelong education is a total system in the sense that it covers all phases of learning in life. Existing educational institutions provide powerful starting points for the pursuit of lifelong education, but they can not enjoy a monopoly in this respect, for lifelong education is characterized by a redistribution of commitment between formal and informal education with the overall aim of reaching "unity of provision". Using the educational institutions as a base, lifelong education seeks to blur the edges between what was formal and non-formal education, institutional and extra-institutional learning across the life of the individual.

The literature also suggests that 'education' in itself, whatever its orientation, can be considered a process of social transformation. In that context both the liberal tradition in adult education and popular adult education should contribute to social change.

Evidently, 'social change' itself means vastly different things under different circumstances. In one context, 'social change' means those processes which usher in

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[17] Gelpi, Ettore (Head of Lifelong Education Unit of UNESCO) "Creativity, contemporary civilization, the future of mankind" Dialectics and Humanism No.1, 1979, p.47. Quoted by Griffin in (Jarvis, 1987: 293).

structural changes, in terms of political, economic and social relationships, people's organization and mobilization. 'Social change' in another context, could mean adaptation, integration and harmonization of even conflicting and contradictory elements, all of which in the long run would lead to the maintenance and stabilization of the status or, in other words, the preservation of the basic foundations of society, with all its diverse stratification. As a precondition for this, there is the need to understand the pervading reality and the process of achieving it in popular adult education.

The UNESCO and ICAE World Conferences also incidentally conveyed the importance of understanding the social-economic context of adult education, especially where it is intended to bring about purposeful social change.

It was pointed out that the two forces which dominate policy and thought about adult education in developing societies are the desire to modernize and the need for nation building. (Styler, 1978: 125) The theory and policy in relation to adult education, are naturally determined by the needs and demands in the drive of modernization and nation building.

Modernization, according to above reviewed theories, means the introduction of up-to-date technology, industrialization, the creation of efficient administration, the development of markets, the expansion of education at all levels, the use of elections to determine the leading body, the provision of social and health services, the improvement of communications -- all the manifold changes in economic, social and political facets which aim at converting a traditional, economically backward, low income society into a modern state.

China, as the largest developing country, is now striving for modernization under the formulation of "building a socialism with Chinese characteristics." The exposition of "the primary stage of socialism" indicates that the state is experiencing its 'conceptual redefinitions'. Today, Chinese theoreticians transcend formal applications of socialist economics by redefining the role of the state, diversifying the society and the economy,

reintroducing market mechanisms, proposing non-Marxist developmental alternatives, and reevaluating Western as well as traditional Chinese cultural systems. The "primary stage of socialism" is the notion rented by China's leadership to pave the way for the on going economic and structural reforms. In this sense, two issues deserve to be particularly noticed.

First, the present concept of socialism obviously deviates from Mao's conventional 'class struggle' centered stand. Instead, the emphasis is clearly on economic construction. Secondly, referring to what is advocated in China that 'theory is the induction of the practice and in turn, to serve practice', the "primary state of socialism" is serving as an ideological weapon for China to pursue its pragmatic economic development.

This review is necessary as the writer considers the subordinate and instrumental aspect of education in relation to superstructure and economic reform essential in analyzing the educational system and expansion in the historical period this thesis is concerned with.

CHAPTER III. THE PARADIGM SHIFT IN THE FIELD OF EDUCATION IN CHINA

China, as one of the countries in the world with the longest history and oldest civilization, is now on the track of realizing modernization. Two major principles of a comprehensive nature in the ongoing modernization movement are domestic structural reform and opening up to the world. The reforms were initially launched in economic area and gradually extended to the comprehensive structural reforms, including economic, cultural, social and educational ones in various domestic areas while political reform remains a high priority harbinger stage. The slogan of "modernization" has been popular in China for more than half a century, since the "May Fourth Movement in 1919, and yet the process of modernization has been interrupted and has changed its directions time and again.

Chinese society has undergone tremendous changes in the past four decades. The founding of the People's Republic of China has radically transformed China's social system from feudalism to socialism. The Chinese Communist Party in the period of "Great Leap Forward" (1958-1960) committed itself to bringing about a fundamental transformation in the Chinese society by changing all aspects of social and economic institutions, as well as the attitudes and behavioral patterns of the Chinese people. The overriding goal was to build a communist society that rejected an individualistic orientation in favour of a collective and egalitarian social system. Although this over-ambitious movement produced unfavorable consequences to the country's economic and political spheres, the ideology of creating a socialist state permeated the social, economic and educational institutions in China. Since 1958, the education policy in the People's Republic

of China has, in general been based upon the principle that education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour.[1]

The death of Mao Ze-dong in 1976 resulted in a power shift within the Communist Party leadership. The new leadership embarked on a movement of modernization which rejected many of the educational experiments of the 'cultural revolution'. China entered into a new period of historical development in which the state goal was to transform the nation into a great and powerful socialist country with modern agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology by the end of the century.[2] Subsequently, changes have been made in Chinese educational policy which are more in keeping with the basic theme of modernization and economic development. This is evident from Hu Qi-li's opening speech made to the National Educational Work Conference in May 1985. He urged that:

> *"Comrades on the educational front work toward the development of a socialist educational cause with Chinese characteristics."*[3]

In view of the current changes in educational policies in China, this chapter provides the political, economic, social and cultural background to education reform since the foundation of the People's Republic of China, with an emphasis on the post-Mao period. The writer attempts to elaborate and analyze the relationship between education and the process of modernization in China, and its implications for the Chinese mode of socialist development. The issues under review are: (1) the Chinese cultural background in relation to the notion of "modernization"; (2) the paradigm shift in the field of education under a different social period, (3) the conflicts and problems emerging during the shift;

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[1]Xiao Zongliu, "China's Educational Policy in a New Era" Journal of Central Teachers' College, No.3, May 30, 1984. Cited by Eli Seifman, in "China: the Decision on the Reform of the Education system. Asian Thoughts and Society Vol.11, No.31, March, 1986> P.42

[2]Documents of the "First Session of the Fifth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China." Beijing Foreign Languages Press, 1978. P.19

[3]Profile, "China: The Decision on the Reform of Education System" Asian Thoughts and Society March, 1986.P.37

and (4) what experiences and lessons can be drawn from the Chinese experiment in modernization.

3.1. The Relation of Chinese Traditional Culture to the Notion of Modernization

The major analysis of the sociology of development focuses on the unilinear path that Third world countries must follow to be like modern industrial societies. Another axiom of the sociology and economics of development is that third world countries must be economically penetrated by processes that have characterized colonial and neo-colonial periods before they can be modernized (Taylor, 1979).

One cannot fail to notice that in recent years, the question of Chinese traditional culture versus Western culture as related to the modernization of China has become a subject of heated discussion in academic circles in China. The original question which triggered the discussion was: what are the causes of China's backwardness in science and technology in modern times? The topic attracted strong interest among Chinese scholars in a wide range of disciplines, and the discussion soon developed into an overall reevaluation of the essence of Chinese traditional culture, its role in China's modernization, and comparative studies of Chinese and Western culture.[4]

There seems to be a general understanding that "culture", in its broad sense, implies both material and spiritual civilization, including ways of life and thinking, social customs, general accepted criteria for behavior and so on, and in its narrow sense, implies mainly intellectual creations such as art, literature, religion, philosophy, ethics, etc., with philosophy as its core. "Chinese traditional culture" means, in general, the culture that prevailed in China from the pre-Qin Shi Huang days (250 B.C.) to the Opium War (1840), a culture with Confucianism at its core, mixed first with Taoism and later with Buddhism. By "Western culture" one means, in general, the main stream stemming from the European

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[4] Shanghai: "Wen Hui Bao"(Wen Hui Daily) April 22, 1986

renaissance that found its roots in ancient Greek civilization. Though this is a loose concept, it serves as an adequate basis for discussion.[5]

The discussions and debates on "Traditional culture and modernization", "the evaluation of the Chinese traditional culture" started spontaneously with multi-dimensions and from different angles in terms of ethical values, ways of thinking, the object and contents of philosophical studies, and some other sensitive issues. Yet, one can already sense the far-reaching significance of this event, which is a natural result of the in-depth development of the current reforms in China, as well as an integral part of the effort being made to build "two civilizations"[6]

The Essential Features of Chinese Traditional Culture

The consensus regarding the essential difference between Chinese traditional culture and Western culture is by and large the following: in terms of the purpose of study and focus of attention, Chinese philosophy concentrates on man and man's self-reflection rather than on nature, as is the case in Western philosophy. Chinese tend to emphasize

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5 In October 1982, a conference was convened in Chengdu, Sichuan province, by the editorial board of the journal "Ziran Bianzhengfa Tongxun"(Newsletter of Natural Dialectics), to discuss the question,"The causes of China's backwardness in modern science and technology." This might be considered the first important nationwide activity on this issue after 'cultural revolution'. Soon after that, in December 1982, a seminar of scholars of Chinese cultural History was convened in Shanghai, sponsored by Fudan University. In 1985 and 1986, two series of important lectures under the title"Comparative study of Chinese and Western culture" were organized by 'Zhonghuo Wenhua Shuyuan'(Study Society of Chinese Culture). Many scholars lectured on a variety of subjects covering the essence and history of Chinese, Indian and Western cultures and the interflow between them. Some overseas scholars also involved those academic activities. After that, a number of conferences and discussions based on the same subjects were carried out in Beijing, Shanghai, and many other cities, sponsored by universities, local academies of social sciences, and journals relevant to the disciplines concerned.

6 "The two civilizations" denotes material and spiritual civilization which is what the Central Government called people to pursue as one of the objects of modernization. "The need to build the 'two civilization' simultaneously" was one section in the government document "Explanation of the proposal for the Seventh Five-year Plan'--- made by Premier Zhao Zi-yang at the National Conference of the Communist Party of China, September 18, 1985.

human society as opposed to the emphasis on the individual in the West. Chinese academic studies have a strong inclination to serve reality and are closely connected with political life, differing from those of the West that stem from detached observation of nature. During the last part of the Ching dynasty, China faced the challenge of Westernization. The essential content of education has gradually changed from traditional to evolutionary since 1867. After Sun Yat-sen's national revolution on the year of 1911, many thinkers tried to combine the moral and the technical, the theoretical and the practical in schools. However, because of the May-Fourth Movement in 1919, which claimed to abandon the Confucian tradition, the educational system moved more and more toward the pragmatic and the technical. In the May-fourth revolutionist eyes, Confucius was simply the idol of the rulers of the old society. For the most part, Confucian classical scholarship was seen as the main line of Chinese feudal culture, the support of feudal monarchy.

Regarding the methodology of thinking, dialectics developed very early in ancient China, while formal logic was comparatively weak. The Chinese way of thinking is good at understanding the world in a comprehensive way through the study of opposites, changes and the process of moving. It contrasts sharply with that of Western philosophers who attach importance to detailed analysis of the objective world and who are good at deduction and reasoning.

In terms of ethical values, the core of Confucianism is "rite", which in concept is highly hierarchical and parochial. It stresses blood ties and requires an almighty authority on top. This concept infiltrated all fields of life of the Chinese people and had far-reaching influences on the development of Chinese history.[7] Western values treat man as an individual, from which derives the Western concept of human rights and obligations.

From the above brief survey of the historical development of Chinese traditional philosophy of education, it can be seen that the metaphysical foundation of the educational

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[7] Yen Shi-sien, A History of Chinese Educational Thought Taipei: Shang-Wu publication Company, 1981. P.443

theory lies in human nature. Education is to lead nature into becoming good. The aims of philosophy of education are: a better life, the elevation of human nature, social order, and the fulfillment of the human design.[8]

The role of traditional culture in China's modernization

The real question lies in the re-evaluation of Chinese traditional culture from the perspective of the modernization of China. Herein lies the major difference of opinion. The current frequently used expressions are the "Anti-traditional school" and "Anti 'anti-traditional' school". The former one indicates those who hold a more or less negative view of Chinese traditional culture and the latter denotes those who give more credit to it. However, there is a fundamental difference between the current discussion and the previous well known debates on the same subject that lasted from the 1860s through 1920s between the conservatives on the one hand and reformists or radicals on the other. Yet the difference is that all current discussants agree that the key issue is how to better promote China's modernization, and all agree that modernization does not include only the material aspect but also that of people's minds. One group of people feels more keenly that the obstacles to reform arise from Chinese feudalistic legacies, while the other is more worried about China losing its national identity if modernization should be wrongly regarded as equivalent to "Westernization". In the following elaboration, the terms "positive school" and "negative school" will be employed for convenience sake with full awareness of their inadequacies and arbitrary nature.

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[8] Feng Tianyu, "An analysis of the Chinese culture," Beijing: Guangming Daily February 16, 1986.

a. Views of the Positive School[9]

The Chinese nation, having survived countless ups and downs, internal upheavals as well as foreign aggressions, remains independent and unified and possesses the world's longest uninterrupted, integrated culture. This very fact proves that there must be strong elements in the Chinese national heritage with lasting values. For the sake of China's modernization, these elements should and can be brought into play and adapted to new conditions.

One of the strong traditions in Chinese culture is the importance attached to morality and man's spiritual world. Ancient Chinese philosophers advocated a preference of "Yi" (righteousness) over "Li" (profit), which today would mean "Public" versus "Private." While the implications of "righteousness"---i.e. moral standards, may change with time, the principle of upholding righteousness is always there. In opposition to the individualism advocated by the West, the Chinese conceive of the value of a human being as realized only in his relationship with his fellow beings. This concept integrates benevolence, righteousness, tolerance, harmony, sense of duty, and contribution into a great consensus of collectivity in which the destiny of the individual is closely related to that of the society.

The Chinese do not entertain the notion that man is created by a God. Besides, Confucianism advocates "the identification of man with the universe," which means that man should follow the way of nature and proceed to utilize the nature. This is an optimistic attitude toward life based on the belief in the development of society.

While "rite" or "ritual system," which is the core of Confucian ethical values, does have a negative effect in suppressing individuality and upholding hierarchy, it has the merit

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9 The points of view summarized below are taken in part under a "special report: scholars conversing by pen," part I, Liaowang oversea edition, February 10, 1986;
Feng Youlan, "Kongqiu, Kongzi, How to study Kongzi,"(How to study Confucians and Confucianism) Tuanjie Bao (United Newspaper) Jan.19, 1985; Pangpu, "The Humanistic Spirit"; Chang Dainian' "Chinese Culture and Chinese Philosophy"; and Li Zehou, "On Chinese Wisdom"---Lectures in the "Comparative Study of Chinese and Western Culture" series.

of creating a solid base for Chinese patriotism by integrating the perfection of China under one emperor since Qin Shi Huang (250 B.C.) and the fact that Confucianism was singled out as the ruling philosophy after the Han Dynasty, did hamper academic freedom and restrain people's thinking. However, these same factors also became the spiritual mainstay of a strong cohesive force in the Chinese nation. And it is precisely due to this cohesive force that the Chinese nation and Chinese culture were able to survive for more than two thousand years.

The ancient Chinese dialectical method of thinking, a treasure left by our ancestors, laid down a very good basis for the present educational philosophy. In general, the positive school is of the opinion that there are many fine traditions in Chinese culture which, instilled with new content, can be reinvigorated and developed today and can play a positive role in the reconstruction of China. All the more so in view of the weaknesses and evils manifested by Western society, which China should seek to avoid by strengthening the good qualities of what is traditionally Chinese.

Views of the Negative School[11]

The main stream of traditional Chinese thinking represented by Confucius' "Ru school"is based on absolute imperial authority. On the one hand, the "Li Zhi" (rule according to rite) upheld by Confucianism created a relationship of personal dependence, which in essence, is one of "slave and master"; on the other hand, the "self-transcendency' of Taoism and Buddhism suppressed from within the development of individuality. Therefore, the fundamental spirit of the traditional educational political system runs counter

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11 Views expressed in "Special Report: Scholars Conversing by Pen," Part II Liaowang oversea edition, Feb.24, 1986; Chen Bohai, "A New Understanding of Chinese Society and Culture," No.1, 1986; Yeh Xiao-qing, "Chinese Traditional Culture in Modern Times," No.1, 1985; Chen Xiao-ming, "Whither Go the Modes of Chinese Traditional Thinking?" Fu Jian Forum, No.3 1985; Yao Shu-ping, "A Study of the Influences of Different Cultural Values on the Development of Science by Looking at the Roads to Success of American Scientists of Chinese Origin," Beijing: Guangming Ribao July 17, 1985.

to the spirit of modernization, which should bring into full play individual creativity, and its design for man is basically wrong.

Modernization requires a turn from "rule by man" to "rule by law." Major social changes are inevitably accompanied by major culture changes whether one likes it or not. Precisely because the "pre-modern" Chinese culture was so well developed, the process of the national modernization has to be more painful than that of other nations. Here one needs to take a detached approach rather than a sentimental one, and the question of who is superior to whom is irrelevant.[12]

Some scholars further point out that in the past---e.g. in the Tang Dynasty--- China could easily absorb, transform, or reject foreign cultures in a selective way while still maintaining its traditional essence. This was because the Chinese agricultural society and clan system had not exhausted their vitality and were still able to develop. Moreover, Chinese society then was more advanced than most of the societies in which the foreign cultures originated. But the situation after the Opium War was reversed. Therefore, the new culture enhanced by the May Fourth Movement was based entirely on new concepts imported from abroad such as "democracy," "rule by law," "social revolution," and even "class struggle." It was not by any means an extension of the old Confucian concepts augmented by some foreign ideas.

In terms of methodology of thinking, the ancient Chinese dialectic has an intuitive, empiric, and speculative character. It tends to use in a simplified way the law of "unity of opposites" and to treat matters abstractly without a thoroughgoing study of the specific contradictions of the objective world. Hence, it is entirely different from modern dialectics (which is based on fully developed formal logic) and is apt to serve as "a bridge to sophistry." According to this school, since Chinese traditional culture was a flower that bloomed on the soil of the ancient aristocratic clan system of an agricultural society, it

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12 This point of view is specially held by Gan Yang, Liaowang Oversea edition, Feb.24, 1986.

could not survive alone when that society came to a historic end. In this sense, with all its glory, beauty, and great contribution to human civilization in the past, the traditional Chinese culture has become a burden to China today as the country marches on to a modern society. Instead of inheriting it , modern China should break away from it. What should be inherited today is the new culture -- the democratic and innovative notions advocated by the May Fourth Movement.

As what was mentioned above, the classification of views into two schools is rather arbitrary. The question is how to create a new culture which is at the same time modern and Chinese. It is the writer's belief that traditional culture in itself, whether we give it the name of Confucianism, Buddhism or Taoism, was unable to transform the traditional society to modern conditions. Such a transformation has been made possible by recourse to Western scientific technology which, in turn, has modified the general intellectual attitudes. However, the writer wishes to maintain that a modified traditionalism is a useful and perhaps necessary in the efforts towards development and modernization, undertaken by any political leadership with a conscious reliance on Western-trained technocrats. It is useful and necessary, because of its contribution to a people's sense of cultural identity, an essential component in Chinese nationalism as it strives to reassert its own dignity. In the development process, the concept of 'nationalism' should play a much more significant role in such areas as politics and culture than in technological development.

For concluding this part, the continuing exploration in the cultural field is certainly a result and a reflection of the in-depth development of the current reform in China.[13] Nevertheless, in the long run, it will certainly bring to bear a far reaching influence on

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13 One of the notable events in this context is that a large-scale project initiated by a group of young scholars associated with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and Beijing University. The project includes a series of publications under the general title,"Culture: China and the World" which contains selected works on the subject by both Chinese and foreign scholars. Beijing: December, 1986.

China's road to modernization in general and the building up of moral civilization in particular.

Understandably, the creation of a new modern Chinese culture has been the long cherished ideal of all Chinese intellectuals. The present contention between a hundred schools of thought and the continuous and sometimes painful absorption and rejection of both traditional and foreign culture, will certainly contribute positively to this great, long-range endeavor.

3.2 Educational Development in Modern China: Pre-cultural Revolution Period (1949-1965)

The role of education in any society is not only to reflect the needs of the society but to help adjust to the changing needs of the social system. The history of the modern and contemporary Chinese education system demonstrates that different educational goals have been adopted in different historical periods. The educational goals reflect the political, economic and structural contradiction in Chinese socialism. China has been coined the land of revolution, since it has witnessed various forms of revolution -- political, social and educational in the past forty years. Since the ruling of the Chinese Communist Party in 1949, educational policy and practice has shifted and adjusted in response to the numerous campaigns and interparty conflicts enough times to render the whole system rather shaky. Yet, the accomplishments of China's system of education in the past four decades have also been impressive. In order to understand the pattern of educational and political development in China, it is essential to describe these reforms in their historical perspectives. For this purpose this section is divided to the following sub-sections:

1. Historical perspective
2. The recovery period: 1949-1957
3. Great Leap Forward period: 1958-1960
4. Adjustment period: 1960-1965

3.2.1. Historical Perspective

For many centuries the Confucian ethic was the moral basis on which human relationships and conduct of government relied in Imperial China. The traditional Confucian educational system was to a great extent, determined by the examination system and Confucian ethics. The purpose of education was selection and ideological preparation for government service. It was Confucian learning that was used as a major criterion for the recruitment of the administrative elite and scholars. The educational system was state run and very competitive. Although, in theory it was open to all, in practice the poor and women were excluded. Education was a highly efficient instrument for the reproduction of the social stratification that characterized imperial-feudalistic China. (Lofstedt, 1980: 67)

In the early twentieth century, the Western and Japanese influence began to adversely affect the traditional educational system. In 1904, the civil service examination was abolished and plans were made to introduce general mass education in place of elitist education system. Between 1906 and 1922, Japan became the model for students returning from Japan and they had a decisive influence on China's educational system. By 1922, American influence was underway which was reflected in the reorganization of the education system.

During the 1920s and 1930s the military forces of the Koumingtang known as the KMT became powerful and imposed their rule over the whole of China. The KMT saw education as an instrument for modernization, and therefore, tightened its control over it. In this period the influence of Western education was at its height.

The educational policies in this period stressed higher education at the cost of other sectors; concentration on science and technology rather than humanities and the increased use of foreign materials in the curriculum. These policies had two major outcomes. First, a growing neglect of rural education restricted social mobility and isolated the urban elites. Secondly, intellectuals were discouraged from participating in political activities thus

alienating them from the political picture, and the stress on higher education in such a few cities increased urban-rural inequalities.

The Japanese invasion in 1937 and the civil war during 1946-1949 gave the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) political power in China. On October 1, 1949, the People's Republic of China was founded and Mao Ze-dong became the Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party.

3.2.2. The Recovery Period: 1949-1957

(1) The Post-liberation Schooling: 1949-50

After liberation in 1949, the state launched vigorous campaigns to alter China's economic structure. The communist party faced many tasks, and education was one in which they had considerable experience. The history of Chinese education shows this trend from the traditional Confucian education system to the Yanan model in the 1940s, especially the experience of Kangda schooling.[14] At the initial stage of new China, the Yanan model and Kangda experiences of education were considered as the guiding principles for developing the socialist education system, aiming at achieving gradual nationalization of industry, land reform and collectivization of agriculture, implementation of central planning, and fostering of communist ideas.

Mao Ze-dong as the chairman of the education committee then, considered the training of revolutionaries as the central task of education, thereby adult and cadre education was given a top priority. At the same time, experimental classes were established to pioneer new methods for training working class intellectuals.By 1950, millions of men and women were taking basic courses up to eighteen hours a week in workshop corners, dining rooms and at the pit head. In 1950, a National Conference on Workers' and Peasants' Education was held in which Chairman Mao stated that,"restoring

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[14] The military schools established during the "Anti-Japanese War" period.

and developing the people's education is one of the important task at present." (Cleverly, 1985: 113)

(2) Soviet Influence on Chinese Education: 1950-57

The First National Educational Work Conference of 1949 stated that:

> *"The education of new China should use the educational experiences of the old liberated areas, and should make use of the experience of the Soviet Union."*[15]

By the mid fifties the Soviet model of education was the dominant trend. For several years, "learn from the Soviet Union" was an official slogan and guide for major reforms in curriculum, teaching methods and school organization. The campaign was carried into schools of all levels, as well as into adult education. Soviet textbooks were translated for adoption in classes. Soviet theories were accepted in science, economics, pedagogy, psychology and other field of study. In 1957, it was reported that 12,400 Russian textbooks had been translated into Chinese and more than 12 million copies were printed for wide distribution.[16]

Soviet influence was especially pronounced in the higher education, Technical universities, departments and colleges were reorganized and regrouped according to the Soviet plan. The college course was extended to five years and the seminar method of teaching developed in Soviet universities was hailed as a new method of teaching. The new Chinese People's University was set up as a model of Soviet higher education. The minister of higher education called for redoubled efforts to learn from the Soviet Union. He stated that, "To learn from the Soviet Union is a firm and unshakable policy of our nation's Socialist construction."[17]

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15 This quotation is cited by David Milton & Nancy Milton edited, "China Social Experimentation, Politics Entry into the World Scene" Random House, New York, 1974: 106.

16 Article by Chien Chun-jui in Educational Theory in People's Republic of China: The Report of Chien Chun-jui John N. Hawkins (Ed.) University of Hawaii Press, 1971

17 Yang Xi-Feng in Guangming Ribao No.6, 1957. Cited: Ibid

The Soviet influence was pervasive in Chinese schools and society until the political polemic between the two countries -- Mao's authodox socialism versus Krushchev's revisionism. The criticism of the Russian influence on Chinese education came into the open during 1956, wher. Mao spoke of differences between the guidelines of the two governments. The Sino-Soviet Friendship Association wound up its activities in schools and Russian language teaching was replaced by English.

(3) "Hundred Flower Campaign": 1956-57

In May 1956, Mao introduced the slogan:"Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend". The campaign was adopted in order to encourage criticism in all fields, but the Chinese academics were severely critical of the Communist Party's over emphasis on the "redness" or ideological socialization. To counteract the "hundred flower" movement, the "Double Hundred" movement bloomed in May 1957. Mao was charged with overwhelming pride, impulsiveness and rage. University staff protested against political constraints in their work, and favourism to party faithfuls.

However, the "Double Hundred" movement was terminated in June 1957. Thousands of intellectual critics were termed as "rightist". Among them were writers, journalists, teachers, members of non-communist parties, religious leaders, and even CPC members in academic areas. The most prominent group of "rightists" were intellectuals specially in educational institutions. The country's authority, while maintaining the "redness" and "leftline", rejected the right of intellectuals to claim a leadership role.

By the late fifties Mao became increasingly aware of the development of elitist or bourgeois influence on the education system. He also became aware of the increasing need to produce new type of man---'socialist man' and he was convinced that the existing educational system was not appropriate to do the job. In 1956, Mao began to oppose the existing system by putting forward a number of counter proposals; recommending the reduction of academic courses, the use of locally prepared and relevant materials; the

introduction of a shortened five year primary system and diversified schools run by the local communities. (Milton, 1974; 107)

In 1957 Mao released the directive for a revision of the aims of education. He stated that:

> *"Our education policy must enable every one who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically, and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture."*[18]

3.2.3. The Great Leap Forward: 1958-60

By the end of the First Five-Year Plan in 1957, it was evident that the school system was unable to meet the demand put on it. Firstly, in 1958, the chairman launched a major economic initiative known as the Great Leap Forward under the slogan "going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better results at lower costs." The movement was announced by the Central Party, aimed to achieve total mobilization of China's workforce. An important concept in the new strategy was "walking on two legs", which meant simultaneous development of industry and agriculture, national and local industries, large and small enterprises.

Secondly, a significant structural change in the rural area was the setting up of the People's Communes, leading the peasants towards a collective life. Meanwhile educational expansion was a distinctive part of the commune movement. The planning steps were to wipe out illiteracy, to institute compulsory primary education and eventually, to bring secondary schools to the township.

Thirdly, perhaps the most notable aspect of the educational reform in 1958 was the consistent introduction of productive labour and practice in education. However, opinions differed among educators and party leaders as to how this principle should be implemented. There was a major dividing line between those who insisted that "education

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18 The quotation cited by John Cleverley, in "The schooling in Chinese Education", 1985: P.139.

must be combined with productive labour" and those who meant that it should apply only in special schools, which again indicated the problem of how to achieve a balance between "redness" (referring to the communist ideological position) and "expertise" (referring to the knowledge and skills possessed by intellectuals).

Despite the advances claimed on all fronts, the Great Leap Forward was abandoned in 1959. The failure of the Great Leap Forward was attributed to 1) change in Mao's role in the PRC, 2) a severe drought in 1959-60, 3) criticism that excessive manual labour in schools could lead to lower standard and 4) criticism from teachers associating the higher enrollment with a qualitative decline, its political work with intellectual interference and students' activities with teacher humiliation. It was reported to Mao that:

> *"The pace of growth was too fast and too much power was delegated to the lower echelons, there was too much labour and too few classes; language courses were taught as political classes, ; the standard has been lowered, chaos prevailed and it has greatly hurt schools."*[19]

3.2.4. Adjustment Period in China: 1960-65

In June 1960, the cooperation between China and the Soviet Union ended. The withdrawal of the Soviet experts left China without help in the key areas of science, technology and education.

On the education front emphasis was on self-reliance and on the need to train experts rather than training ideologues. The curriculum was revised and special attention was given to academic research. Better equipped schools known as 'key schools' were opened for able and talented children, who were taught by well-qualified teachers in superior facilities. Government and local budgets for education and academic work were increased. Concurrently, significant efforts were made in the 1960s to develop the non-formal branch of education and minority education as well.

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19 Ibid, P.149

However, in 1964, education policies once again became the special target. Mao attacked the Revisionist line for its exclusive attention paid to theoretical studies, the system of university admission standard and the burden of the examination system. He once again introduced the socialist education movement, aiming for the elimination of the bourgeoisie outlook and the arousal of class consciousness. This complete break with academic model came with the launching of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" in 1966.

3.3 Education in the Great Cultural Revolution: 1966-1976

The Cultural Revolution decade, 1966-1976, witnessed the pursuit of radical policies and reforms in the Chinese education system. These far reaching policies and reforms came to be known as the Chinese model of education, which has attracted the admiration of many analysts for policies designed to counteract the inegalitarian effects of schooling. (Shirk, 1979: 183)

The education system in China reflects the political, economic and structural contradictions of transition to socialism. The Cultural Revolution was a major attempt to salvage and revitalize the floundering socialist transition. Therefore, to examine the radical reforms during that period is to understand the new sets of contradictions that Chinese leadership is presently rationalizing in pursuit of modernizing China by the end of this century. The core of the Revolution was from 1966 to 1969, but the permanent effects of it lasted until the death of Mao in 1976 and the down fall of the 'Gang of Four' thereafter.

3.3.1. The Struggle Begins

In the wake of the upheavals of the mid and late 1960s in China, a movement, first called the Socialist Education Movement and later continued under the name of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" spread all over the country. Educational issues were at the core of the Cultural Revolution. Mao understood the profound influence that the educational system had upon the larger society. When he thought that Chinese society was becoming too bureaucratic, elitist and Soviet style revisionist, he looked first to the educational system for social reforms (Shirk, 1979: 184). On May 7, 1966, Mao Ze-dong made his famous statement on education:

> *"While the students' main task is to study, they should also learn other things, that is to say, they should not only learn bookish knowledge, they should also learn industrial production, agriculture production and military affairs. They should also criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie. The length of the schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionized, and the domination of our schools and colleges by bourgeois intellectuals should not be tolerated any longer."*[20]

The directives for educational reforms that followed the above statement during the Cultural Revolution clearly bore Chairman Mao's egalitarian and work-oriented educational philosophy. The reforms touched every facet of education: including admissions, curriculum, methods of student evaluation, discipline and student teacher relations, the role of manual labour and politics in education, higher education and basic research.

The main thrust of the revolution was to remove the intellectuals and make them work along side peasants and workers, for they needed to be re-educated, so as to be able to politically socialize the younger generation into revolutionary proletarian line of socialism as directed by Mao.

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[20] Cited by Lofstedt, in "Chinese Educational Policy Changes and Contradictions 1949-79" Stockholm, 1980: 124.

3.3.2. The Cultural Revolution Reforms

In mid 1966, all universities and most middle schools were suspended to inaugurate reforms in curricula, enrollment procedures, while teaching faculties dispersed, libraries shut down, and systematic literacy efforts came to halt. Hundreds of thousands of intellectuals and students with more than a middle-school education were sent to the countryside to engage in manual labour. In the schools that remained open, besides the reduction of course length, training in ideology superseded technical and scientific teaching. The students had no motivation to learn, and the teachers were in a state of perplexity as a result of their desperate situation. The whole education system was suffered from paralysis. The Central Committee of Chinese Communist Party stated among other things, the following policy reforms on education in June 1966.

(1) Admissions

Universally, one of the most contentious issue of educational policy is admissions, which is particularly true in China. During the 1966-76 decade, the enrollment debate revolved around major entrance criteria --- who should be admitted, what procedures should be followed and when should students enter the university. The touchstone for admission in this period was Mao's July 21, 1968 directive in which he said:"students should be selected from among peasants and workers with practical experience and they should return to production after a few years study." According to this directive admission priority was given to the children of workers, poor and lower middle class peasants, regardless of their age and ability to pay. Entrance examinations both for the primary and secondary schools were abolished. Entrance to the middle schools was based on recommendations from brigades, teachers and the political activism of the students.

(2) Period of schooling

The period of schooling was shortened at all levels. After 1969, the 6-3-3 period for primary, junior middle and senior middle schools was shortened to 5-2-2- respectively. This policy was based on the belief that schooling often had a deleterious effect on

students' attitudes. The emerging pattern of schooling in this period is indicated in figure 3.1 below.

(3) Curriculum and Content

In the area of curriculum, two issues have been especially contentious for the Chinese: the relationship between abstract theory and practice and the balance in curriculum between academic subjects and politics.

During the 1968-76 period, practical study was given predominant emphasis. The practical orientation was clearly visible in the Chinese authority's attempt to create "open-door" schooling where students would continually integrate textbook with concrete experience in factories and farms. The amount of time devoted to manual labour in schools was increased. Sixty to seventy percent of school time was devoted on productive labour.

The political transformation of students was of transcendent importance to Mao. This was reflected in the decision to devote large blocks of class time (30-40%) to political study.

4) Control and Management

Educational administration was decentralized with flexible schedules fitted to the rhythm of local occupations and agricultural production. Revolutionary committees took over the management of schools. The membership of the committees was comprised of cadres, workers, peasants, teachers and students. The state schools in the rural areas were managed by the communes and brigades. The role of the non-professional in education was increased by inviting peasants and workers to teach classes about their work and, by challenging teachers' classroom authority.

(5) Higher Education

Entrance examinations for university enrollment were abolished in favour of 'party recommendations'. Higher education programmes were reduced from five or four years to three to two years. Courses and course materials were shortened and simplified. All colleges were run in the 'open door' style and students were promoted regardless of their

performance. For example, in pre-clinical work, the courses dropped were physics, biology, parasitology, embryology and foreign languages. The amount of political study was increased from four hours per week to six hours.

3.3.3. The Consequences of the Cultural Revolution Education Reforms

It is evident from the foregoing discussion of educational reforms in China from 1949-1976, that the Chinese education system represented the dialectical principles of development through contradictions. It also shows that the history of education tends to be influenced by whatever political line is in power and is dominating decisions. In general, two significant lines of thinking were prevalent in China, and they ascribed different roles to education in the process of developing a socialist state. Table 3.2 summarized these two lines of education according to the Chinese chronology.

It is admitted by the present government authorities that the most serious negative consequences of the Cultural Revolution reforms were as follows: first, the quality of education declined and scientific research was disrupted. In this respect Vice-premier Fang Yi contended that:

> *"..Basic scientific and theoretical research has been virtually done away with. ... The gap between China's level of science and technology and the world's advanced levels has widened."*[21]

Second, The changes in incentive structure in high schools reduced the motivation to strive for academic achievements. University standards fell significantly as they were not allowed to screen the intellectual abilities of their applicants. Hence, many of those recommended admission were not able to cope with the challenge of higher education.

Third, The most pradoxical aspect of the reforms was failure to eradicate educational inequalities. In spite of the abolition of the 'key schools', the inequalities

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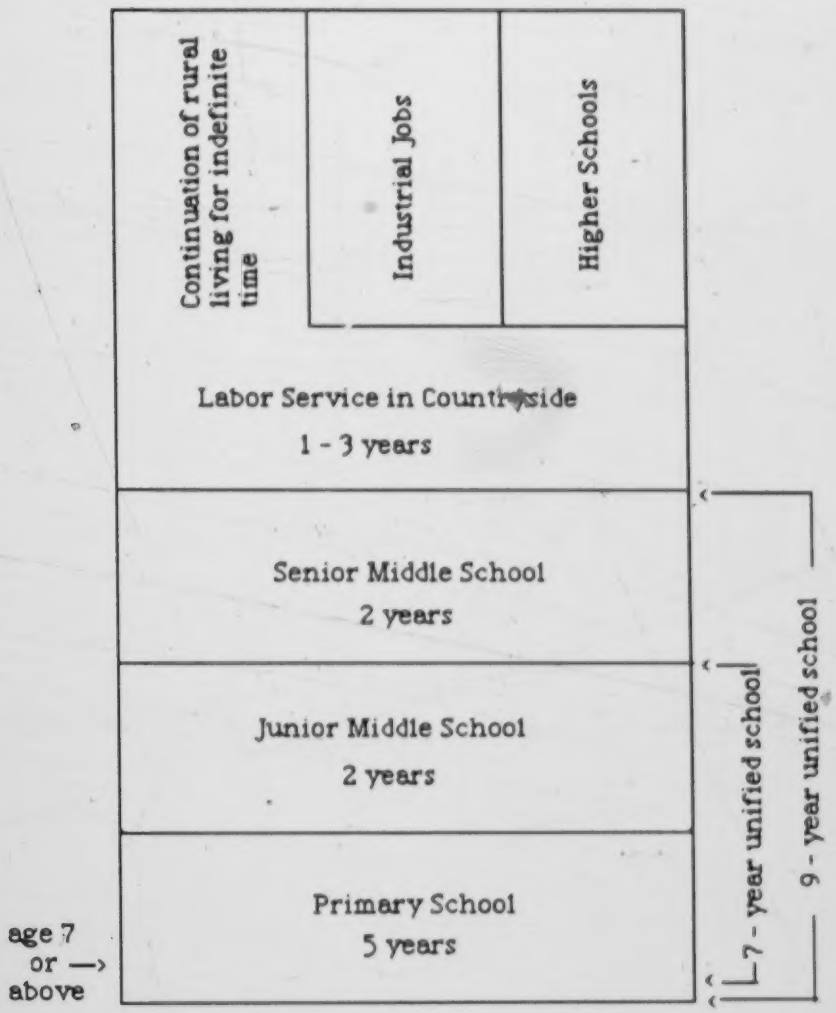
21 Fang Yi, "On the Situation in China's Science and Education", report on the standing committee of the Fourth National Committee of the Chinese People's Congress, Dec.27, 1977. Beijing Review No.2, Jan.13, 1978, P.15.

remained; however, it shifted from student's achievements as a basis for selection to the occupational status of their parents.

Fourth, the most serious problem with these reforms was its impact on the economy. According to Deng Xiao-ping, the economic reforms of the Cultural Revolution, such as, the abolition of factory bonuses and the discouragement of private farm plot production had a much more immediate negative effect on the national economy.

FIG. 1 PATTERN OF PRIMARY AND MIDDLE SCHOOL



Scource: Chen, T. "The Maoist Educational Revolution. Praeger Publishers. New York, Washington, London. 1974:43.

TABLE 3.2 TWO LINES OF EDUCATION ACCORDING TO THE CHONOLOGY

Period	Mao	Anti-Mao
1949 - 52	Educational reform, the Yanan model, Soviet experiences, propaganda first, study second;	Preserve the old, all-out Sovietization, restriction of Minban schools, opposition to politics in education;
1953 - 57	Educational reform, 5-year primary cycle, stress on ideology and politics, more Yanan model and less Soviet model, labour education;	Anti Minban against 5-year primary cycle, extension of time, Sovetization, more teaching and less politics, general technical education (Soviet politechnic model), restriction of expansion;
1958 - 60	Half-work, half-study, participation in production, party leadership;	'Two kinds of education system and labour system', pushing the full-day school system, pedagogy as the backbone and intellect first, less productive labour;
1961 - 63	Emphasis on class struggle;	Minimizing productive labour, stress on quality, demanding more basic theory, negating class struggle, against politics, for academic authority, pushing 'small pagodas', i.e. stressing key schools, stressing academic career;
1964 - 65	Stress on reform, reduction of courses, changing examination, emulation of PLA' participation in 'Socialist Education Movement';	Promoting two track system, a Liu Shao-qi version of work-study system;
1966 - 67	Against bourgeois intellectuals, for radical reform;	Peddling the Liuist type of work-study system, trying to strangle 'Cultural Revolution' through the work-teams and various bureaucratic measures;
1968 - 76	Stress on education for workers and peasants, against elite form of education in key schools and key universities, Redness Vs Experts.	Zhou En-lai's stress on raising the quality of education and warning against the excessive labour production, strengthening of research work and natural sciences, quality Vs mass education.

Source: Lofstedt, J. Chinese Education Policy Changes and Contradictions 1949 - 1979 Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell International, 1980: 127.

3.4. Education in the Post Cultural Revolution: 1976-1987

The death of Mao Zedong in 1976 and the subsequent arrest of the group known as the 'Gang of Four' marked the end of the 'Cultural Revolution' and the beginning of a new period of socialist modernization in China. With the emergence of the pragmatic leadership of Deng Xiao-ping and Zhao Zi-yang, the revolutionary zeal of the left-wing Maoist line was replaced by a pragmatic realization that, China has to modernize in order to compete with technologically advanced nations. The new Chinese leadership has changed its political and ideological stance with regard to its adoption of the 'Four Modernizations'.

3.4.1. Dimensions of Change in Educational Policy

The fifth and current phase of the Chinese education once again reflects the political contradictions and the dialectical principles of development, that have characterized contrasting models of education in China since 1949. The revolutionary education model employed by Mao during the Cultural Revolution is now considered by the present leadership to have retarded China's overall development.

There has been a significant shift in the definition of the purposes of education in both models --- the *revolutionary model* from 1966 to 1976 and the *academic model* since 1976. For Mao, the principle purpose of education was political; to train successor generations to inherit his own generation's revolutionary values (Lampton, 1978: 368). The educational perspective expressed by the leftists stated by Liang Xiao was:

> *"The proletariat has the task of transforming the old world. It should create conditions in which it is impossible for the bourgeois to exist or for many generations to arise. This requires people of many generations to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. For this reason, the proletariat should occupy the education front in order to use it to train revolutionary successors who can persist in the dictatorship of the proletariat and strive for the realization of communism."*[22]

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22 Cited by Lampton, D. in "Thermidor in the Chinese Educational Revolution"
in Vol.17, No.5 December 1978 p.368

In contrast the changes which have occurred within the Chinese education since the death of Mao, reflects the redefinition of the very purpose of education. A typical exposition on the role of education was expressed in 1978 as:

> *"First, we must improve the quality of education and raise the level of teaching in science and culture so as to serve proletarian politics better. Our schools are the place for training competent personnel for the country....The 'gang of four' were opposed to making strict demands on students in their study of science and culture and making such studies their main pursuit."*[23]

Thus, the policy changes in the post-Mao period must be seen as the result of political and ideological shift in the power structure and changes in the definition of education itself.

3.4.2. Education for Four Modernizations

The major changes in educational policies since 1976 has been the gradual shift towards the view that education should respond to the needs of economy. Education is seen as a key to modernization. The prime assumption that the primary objective of education was to meet economic needs were clearly underlined at the National Education Work Conference in April 1978. In stressing the role of education in economic development of China, the Minister of Education, Liu Xi-yao said that:

> *"All this requires is working on the educational front to raise at the shortest time possible the quality of education, so as to bring up millions upon millions of workforce having socialist consciousness and mastering modern production skills and to train hundred upon thousands specialists in various fields and managerial experts for modern economy and modern science and technology."*[24]

Similarly, Deng Xiao-ping stated at the National Conference on Science that, "Science and education are productive forces, not part of the superstructure as had been

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[23] Beijing Review No.18, 1978, P.7.

[24] Liu Xi-yao, "Report of the National Education Work Conference" cited by Bulter and Sheen, "Changes in Chinese Education since the Death of Mao" in Canadian International Education Vol.8, No.2, 1979, P.47

wrongly believed";[25] a leading government economist Xu Dixin, said that, "education is a decisive factor in the development of production."[26] Confirming the above views the official economist Yu Guangyuan wrote that"education is in its way a productive force."[27] Thus, the economic needs which the education system was required to meet were defined in 1978. It was stressed by the political leaders that the proper training of a limited pool of highly qualified personnel aimed at the improvement of basic schooling should be given full attention in the new educational reforms. These were the two major reforms identified in the Sixth Five-Year Plan(1981-85). The new educational goals have been put into practice by various reforms.

3.4.3. Major Policy Reforms

The major educational reforms implemented after the Cultural Revolution were the setting up of a reliable system for the training of highly qualified technical and scientific personnel, based on competitive and selective colleges and universities. Especially from the 1980s, as the country has entered a new period of socialist modernization, higher education has represented both a vital element in raising the level of spiritual, as well as the material aspects of the civilization. The central government pointed out that "at present, special emphasis must be placed on developing higher education and accelerating professional programs in all fields of learning and expertise."[28]

(1) Higher Education

Two major changes in higher education have occurred during the recent decade. The first one was the shift in the university enrollment system. Access to higher education once again depends on the scores from a series of annual competitive entrance

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25 Cited by Bastid,M. "Chinese Educational policies in the 1980s and Economic Development" in the China Quarterly No.98, June 1984: 189.

26 Beijing: Guangming Ribao (Clarity Daily), No.2, 1980 P.2 cited Ibid.

27 Yu Guang-yuan, "On the Question that Education Is a Productive Force" in Education Research (Beijing) No.5, 1980,PP.2-6, cited Ibid.

28 Report delivered at the Sixth National People's Congress by Premier Zhao Zi-yang, 1984.

examinations. Most important, the shift signified a sharp turn in Chinese policy, a retreat from the emphasis on political training and practical work experience which had been the symbol of the 'cultural revolution'. The emphasis on the selection criteria has obviously shifted from 'red and experts' to 'experts and red'. Secondly, although the management of higher institutions is veered towards centralization and unification, more freedom has been given to higher educational institutions to make their own decisions and more choices offered for graduates to find jobs.

The number of higher education institutions increased from 598 in 1978 to 715 in 1983, then 1054 in 1986 with the number of students raising from 856,000 to 880,000. In 1986, 41,000 graduate students were enrolled, 110,000 were in the programme, and 17,000 got their degrees.[29] Special efforts also have been made to send students to the best centers abroad for study and research in those subject areas where national resources are scarce such as computer science, bio-medical engineering, and so on.

(2) Key Point Schools

Moreover, the revival of 'key point' schools is also an important strategic decision on education after the ten-year turmoil. Despite the fact that it has remained a controversial issue since its inception at the end of the 1950s, it was designed to concentrate limited resources in a relatively small number of schools in order to cultivate outstanding students. Of the present 715 higher educational institutes, 89 have been appointed as 'key point', whose role is to lead the way in raising the quality of higher education.

In order to feed higher education with well qualified candidates, a network of key point schools has also been re-established at secondary and primary levels from early 1979. Twenty one primary and secondary schools were chosen to be 'national key point' in 1979, and each province and municipality has designated their own 'key point' schools. According to the data, the rates of entering the university from the 'key point' high schools

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29 "Statistic Bulletin of National Economy and Social Development in 1986" by the National Statistic Bearuel of China, Beijing: February 16, 1987.

in Beijing and Shanghai are between 70 to 90 percent; while the average rate for high school graduates to enter the higher institutions is around 4 percent.[30]

(3) Adult Education

Another important feature of the education reforms has been the consolidation of education designed for adults and masses. As the "open door policy" started being adopted at the end of 1970s, more and more advanced techniques and modern productive equipment have been brought in, but, the present workforce lacks the required skills to meet the needs of the economy for rapid modernization. The adult education system has become an essential supplement in terms of the pool of the trained workforce.

Employee universities in the urban area and peasants' spare-time schools in the rural area are all over. The vast number of young people, particularly the "lost generation" with the age group between 30s and 40s, who had experienced the disruption of educational opportunities within the ten-year cultural revolution, demonstrate a sense of urgency to catch up, to compensate for the lost time.

On the whole, a great diversity of educational opportunities exists for adults in China. The programmes have a wide range of sponsorship, take place in various settings, use different methodologies and have impact in various ways on the continuing and life education of adults. This kind of massive effort to educate the workforce has never occurred on such a scale before in China's history. As the study team sponsored by the International Council for Adult Education stated in their report, "We now gain a realization that, despite occasional inequalities and disparities, the efforts of the People's Republic of China to upgrade the education of its workforce is reaching more adults than any other programme in the world." (Hunter, 1985: 4) More details regarding nature, philosophy and the goals of adult education system established during the recent decade are examined in the following chapter.

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[30] Chinese Education No.2, 1984, P.5.

(4) Reorganization of Curriculum

The policy of centralized education has two major results -- standardization of the uniformed curriculum in the country and reinstitution of centralized administration and control. New material to be used were prepared in 1978 and were incorporated in the primary and secondary schools.

Since September 1976, there has been a great emphasis on basic academic subjects and fundamental scientific research. The curriculum changes have been summarized in the speech of the Chinese Minister of Education "all these changes are aimed to train competent personnel quickly for the realization of the 'four modernizations."[31]

Finally, the practice of manual labour had been down played in the favour of academic studies in school, while the laboratory practice has been more emphasized.

(5) Effects of New Changes

The effects of new changes can be observed as follows:

1) Revival of the entrance examination system has restored powerful incentives for student achievement;

2) Class background credentials are playing a smaller role in selection, resulting in a decreased proportion of freshmen from 'real' worker-peasants families;

3) Because the successful qualification for university is limited to five percent of the applicants, there is a problem of reconciling young people to failure and providing them with other attractive alternatives;

4) The applying of 'market mechanism' in the economic system has, in some degree, discouraged the pursuit of studying pure science. To the further frustration, some fields like teacher's training, Chinese history and literature being ignored by the society for their lacking of "value"; and

5) Opponents of current policies complain with some justification that extensive ability tracking and emphasis on science and technology have gone further than pre-

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[31] Beijing Review November 15, 1978, P.13, cited by Lampton.

cultural revolution policies.

3.5. China's Paradigm Shift: Dilemma in Chinese Education Reforms

In the zigzag course of the past forty years, the educational system in China has witnessed a swing from elitist and Soviet style education in the post liberation period, to revolution in education during the 'Cultural Revolution' and back to educational liberalism---with less rigid control, a more positive role for teachers and scholars, and more attention to the study of science and technology. Education reforms since the death of Mao Ze-dong, as seen in this chapter, confirm conclusively that, the apex of China's education system has become a privileged meritocracy. The modern image of China, increasingly ruled by a technocratic elite, under party supremacy, diverges significantly from Mao Ze-dong's egalitarian social goals.

An avowedly socialist society like that of China, is now restoring the Marxist ideological line of "seeking truth from facts" and obtaining a new understanding of development phases of socialism in the pursuit of modernization. China's present modernization programmes have been engineered by a handful of pragmatic leaders like late Zhou En-lai, the present senior party leader Deng Xiao-ping , and reformist Zhao Zi-yang. But under their leadership education has been assigned a very narrow focus, seemingly believing that there exists only one mission for education--- that of economic development and modernization. Does this fluctuating national goal represent dialectical principles of socialist development through contradictions or can the country afford to neglect the fundamental purpose of education---for increasing the quality of the population in the present historical stage of the People's Republic of China?

3.5.1. China's Paradigm Shift

Before analyzing the above pertinent questions about China's future direction in the socialist development, it is necessary to place her educational reforms in ideological and political perspectives. The major issue --- whether the pursuit of economic development and technological modernization is necessarily incompatible with egalitarian principles of socialism? --- represents contradictions in the Marxist theory of socialist development.

In the view of Lampton (1978:367) all developing communist nations have two sets of conflicting goals which create reoccurring dilemmas for education. As seen in this chapter, these tensions have been particularly visible in case of the Chinese education system. The Marxist ideology professes a commitment to the ultimate attainment of a classless society. When a country vests its interest in equality, as seriously as China did until 1976, then it behooves the political leaders and educators to consciously pursue the policies that are designed to eradicate social, class and intellectual differences between the students and within the populace at large.

On the other hand, China has sought to develop its national economy by building a modern industrial, agricultural and scientific infrastructure. Although for Mao and Marx the attainment of equality was inconceivable without the economic base, yet, to transform the scarce capital and human and educational resources to develop economy was at odds with commitment to equality.

In the case of China, both these goals were emphasized by two sets of leaders --- Mao's as leftist and Deng's as revisionist. While Mao placed heavy emphasis on the equality of educational opportunities in the last decade of his life, his successors since 1976, have argued that many of the educational practices of the 1968-76 period retarded the country's ability to modernize the country. Therefore, while they continue to adhere to Mao's ideology of socialism, they now accord education's role to economic development.

Thus the dimension of change in educational policy must be viewed as an apparent manifestation of the basic redefinition of education's role in the post Mao era.

3.5.2.Contrasting Lines of Thinking in Education

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that, under two different political leaderships, two contrasting models of the education system came into existence in China. The major characteristics presented below, confirm that China's educational system has witnessed a shift in the development paradigm. The academic model of post 1976, goes exactly in the reverse direction than that of the revolutionary model (1966-1976). Thus, the educational system in China does present contradictions in the national goals --- red versus expert, or, equality versus modernization. These contrasting models are presented in Fig 3.3 on the next page.

TABLE 3.3. CONTRASTING MODELS OF CHINESE EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

	Revolutionary Model (1966-76)	Academic Model (since 1976)
National goals	Primary emphasis on revolution and communism, with attention to politics and ideology.	Primary emphasis on development and modernization, with attention to production and development.
Desired product	The zealous revolutionary, the unswerving ideologue and activist. Redness more crucial than expertness. Indigenous experts, barefoot professionals.	Trained personnel with skills and technical competence. Trained experts and scholars committed to the country's economic reform and reconstructions.
Schools	Merging of formal, informal, non-formal education. Open-door schools, work-study schools. No clear-cut demarcation between elementary, secondary, higher education. Schools for the masses.	School the center of educational system, existing primary for full-time study. The educational ladder, with coordinated and articulated schools on ascending levels. Key schools and universities for intellectual elite.
Curriculum	Unity and continuity of experience inside and outside the schools. Action as important as knowledge from books (or more so). Political-ideological education the core curriculum. Knowledge and skills as needed for production and politics.	Distinction between school studies and extracurricular activities. Basic studies, theoretical knowledge, on graded levels. Prerequisites for advanced studies. Education to meet present and future needs.
Methods	The whole society educates. Learning takes place on the farm, in the factory, and the parade grounds. Participation in production and political work is a major method of learning.	The classroom, the library, the laboratory are the places where learning is centered. The study of books is essential. Examinations are an important aid to learning.
Learning process	Ad hoc learning to meet practical needs of production and politics. Promotion based on political and production record.	Systematic learning of organized subject matter. Some knowledge and skills must be learned as foundation for further study. Academic criteria for promotion.
Leadership	The Communist Party, the worker-peasant-soldier teachers and administrators of schools. Intellectuals downgraded.	Active role of professionals -- teachers, educators -- under Party leadership.

Julia Pan, prepared for the presentation "Changes in Chinese Education since 1976" for Ed. Foundation Course 564, University of Alberta, March, 1986.

3.6. Conclusions and Perspectives

Having examined the dilemma in educational reforms, one must ask whether these reforms are incompatible with egalitarian principles of socialism, or whether the current accommodative posture of the Chinese nation is simply buying time for the eventual take over of the capitalist path to development. Although, it is much too early to assess the overall impact of China's new policies, it is possible to make some general preliminary conclusions concerning the above two questions.

Various observations, statements, comments and views have been expressed in the last decade by Western commentators and Chinese scholars. Some scholars are speculating that the wheel of Chinese education has come full circle---back to meritocracy and inequalities. The new leadership in China is aware of the infiltration of capitalist ideology and its work style. However, they have full confidence in their decision of opening China's doors to the world. This is evident from the speech of Chen Yun, a veteran economist to the Sixth Session of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection, delivered in September 1985:

> *"The policy of opening to the outside world by importing advanced foreign technology and management expertise to serve China's need for socialist construction is entirely correct and must be upheld."*

On the issue of equality and economic development, Whyte has put forward a novel argument, that is, "The Maoist era was not really so egalitarian and the current regime not so inegalitarian as many have assumed." He further contends that, "Although many analysts have believed that equality was being promoted vigorously under Mao, in fact certain kinds of systematic inequalities were growing, and in important ways China was a much more unequal place when Mao died in 1976 than it had been two decades earlier." Commenting on Deng's regime he says, "underneath rhetoric that seems to indicate growing inequality in Deng's China, there is evidence that in number of specific areas inequalities seem to be getting smaller ... local inequalities may be increasing while the overall inequality in China is declining." (Whyte, 1986:118)

However, Bastid's observations on the impact of educational reforms in post-Mao period shows, disparity between specialization and job opportunities; availability of limited manpower constrains economic development; unequal development in focal points and hinterlands; impact of household system and political and social confrontations. Bastid further contends that, "Whatever their achievements, which are impressive, especially as regards to the improvement of teaching standards, the reforms carried out since 1977 still need time and further adjustments before the educational system can function successfully on trained personnel for Chinese economy" (Bastid, 1984: 219).

In conclusion, China's "second revolution" to catch up with advanced countries has made significant progress and the procedure has arrested worldwide attention. These reforms are implemented in response to the need of modernizing China. However, it is a top-down response sponsored by the leading group that sees political reform as a necessary concomitant of economic progress. In the writer's view, there are successful experiences as well as weaknesses in the educational reforms which can be mentioned here.

First, the government has paid increasing attention to the role of intelligentsia, who used to be categorized as the 'ninth stinking' by Mao's leftist leadership during the "Cultural Revolution". This indicates, on one hand, the importance of knowledge, expertise and know-how in the process of modernization. On the other hand, it also demonstrates the recognition by the government who used to downplay academic work for more than three decades.

Second, the adoption of the 'open door policy' in the recent years has opened a window through which people can view the pace of the world's development, which in turn, may inspire them to proceed with catching up with the modern societies.

Third, China has now broken the restrictions of dogmatism and the orthodox form of Marxism limitations in order to pursue the way of development on its own terms rather than on those dictated by Western capitalists or Soviet socialists. This is not only a big

breakthrough since the founding of People's Republic of China, but it is a good lesson to be learned by many of the Third World socialist countries as well.

Nevertheless, we cannot afford to ignore some weaknesses in the course of present reforms in China, which remain unsolved and require more time for further exploration. The present drive of education for the 'four modernization' has resulted in disparity among some areas, groups and individuals. The primary factor which has consistently reduced any benefit China could reap from her educational efforts since the beginning of this century, is the uneven geographical and sectoral distribution of limited trained personnel. The 'designated' enrollment or assignment system can perhaps improve the situation, but rather slowly. Moreover, the quality of training may prove to be inadequate since it is permissible to lower admission standards for this category.

Secondly, with the concentration on education reform to meet the needs of modernizing the country, rarely were the educational changes oriented to the needs of individuals. Efforts were generally made only upon education goals designed to meet particularly the economic end. The content of education, the human interest was, on the whole, neglected. As a result, human creativity was hampered and consequently, led to passive learning attitudes.

Indeed, the present situation in China is encouraging but unstable, for China is undertaking something unprecedented but undoubtedly worth the effort. In the words of Deng Xiaoping, "This is the only road China can take, other roads would only lead to poverty and backwardness."[32]

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[32] Deng Xiaoping's interview with "Time", 1985 Time January 6, 1986.

CHAPTER IV. THE NATURE AND THE GOALS OF ADULTEDUCATION IN CHINA

What makes Chinese adult education unique is that China has, in the past ten years, created a formal and structured educational system for those already productively employed. There are about 400 million Chinese engaged in productive labour; the education of the workforce has become part and parcel of the established order, a means and medium for the achievement of governmental priorities.

In the past few years, the development of adult education in China has aroused great interest among adult education organizations and friendly colleagues in many countries through various forms of mutual exchange. A survey team from the World Bank reserved its kindest words for the adult education sector:

> *"The Chinese non-formal education system is very well established and efficient. It is closely related to the training and education needs of the course participants ... (It) is probably the best and the most comprehensive in the developing world, and it should continue to be a very important factor in China's human resources development."*[1]

Nevertheless, each educational structure cannot be apart from its own social orientation and objectives. In the last decade after the official end of the 'cultural revolution', China has displayed a notable developmental pattern. The rapid social transformation from political and revoiutionary orientation under Mao to economic and reform orientation under Deng has been acclaimed. At the same time, educational expansion, especially the adult education boom, during this period has been very rapid and impressive in China. In this chapter, an attempt is made to examine the relationship between the expansion of China's adult educational system and the social transformation and reform mainly in the post-cultural revolution period by elaborating on the nature, philosophy, and established goals of the whole structure. The chapter is organized as follows: (i) A brief historical review of adult education in China; (ii) An overview of the

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[1]World Bank, China: Socialist Economic Development (Annex G: Education Sector) Manila: World Bank, 1981, p.48

prompting development of adult education since the year of 1978; (iii) The present guiding principles of the adult education programs and (iv) A general examination of the present structure of adult education system in China. The issues such as "the reason for the Chinese adult education boom", and "whether the current accepted theories in the field are applicable in the Chinese case" will also be examined in this chapter.

4.1. A Brief History of Adult Education in China

Environment and context produce different characteristics in the development of any event. This is true of adult education in China.

After the Opium War in 1848, China gradually turned into a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. With the inception of the Old Democratic Revolution, the revolutionaries such as Cai Yuanpei and Zhang Taiyan founded a Chinese Education Society in Shanghai (1902). These pioneers not only established general learning stations for adult remedial education but also opened up patriotic societies to disseminate revolutionary ideas and advocate equality between men and women. In 1912, when the Nanjing provisional government was established by Sun Yat-sen, Cai Yuanpei was appointed as the Minister of the Education Department. Cai established a Social Education Office within the Department whose task was to promote adult education and mass social education. In the same year, "Renzi Year Outline" was developed for remedial and vocational education. During the First World War, China's national industry underwent expansion. In response to this, the Chinese Vocational Education Society was founded in 1917. However, adult education in old China could not centre on industrial technology, since the industrial sector was too weak. It could only develop in line with the democratic revolutionary movement.

The May Fourth Movement in 1919 was the turning point from the old democratic revolution in China to the New Democratic Revolution. Since the New Democratic Revolution began with a new cultural revolution, the common people's education began to develop. Along with the student, peasant and worker movement, various institutions such

as citizen, volunteering , worker and peasant schools came into being. Among the famous ones were the Worker Night School of Changsha, First Normal School of Hunan, established by Mao Zedong in 1917, the Changxin Dian Remedial School sponsored by the People's Education Seminar of Beijing University which was founded by Deng Zhongxia in 1919, and the Worker's School in Shanghai, opened by the Shanghai Communist Group in 1920. The purpose of those schools was to disseminate Marxist theory while teaching people to read and write. The goal was to impart rudimentary revolutionary ideas and encourage the labouring people to join the social reformation. Also during this period, a study-work movement was conducted in France by pioneer overseas scholars such as Zhou Enlai. This movement prepared some outstanding leaders and talented persons for the Chinese revolution.

After the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921, the cadre's education was vigorously initiated. It came from the belief that cadres (administrative personnel, e.g. military officers, rural regional administrators etc.) were the vanguard of the masses, who, more than anyone else, needed to be trained and improved. Therefore, the policy at that time was formulated as "cadre education first and mass education second." The cadre institutions which were established in base areas like Jiangxi, Hunan and Shanghai developed a large number of leaders for the three Revolutionary Civil Wars before 1949.

It was during the Second Civil War and the Anti-Japanese War (1927-1945) that adult education on a regional and national level came to be connected directly with the development of productive human resources and the advancement of social progress. It became a policy and integral part of the entire educational effort of the country, and began to develop with clear objectives and with planning and leadership. At that time, the educational policy of the 'Chinese Soviet Government' was "to raise by every means the educational level of the workers and peasants."[2]

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[2] Yao Zhong-da, (Deputy director, Adult Education Department of Ministry of Education

The nation-wide, large scale development of adult education was initiated after the founding of new China in 1949. On one hand, it was a continuation of adopting the fine traditional philosophy to encourage people to learn "what they do not know". It was a fact that most high ranking leaders of the Chinese Communist Party had received a very profound Confucian education in their early years; they had shared and inherited a great deal of intellectual, even political views of Confucius while criticizing the old eloquently. On the other hand, and more important, educational need was impelled by the contradiction between the educational backwardness of old China (more than 80% of the adults were illiterate) and the demands for culture and knowledge by the rapid growth of productive forces in new China.

After 1949, the development of China's adult education can be divided into three periods:

1) The developing period

This period covered the years from 1950 to 1966. Along with the emphasis on eradicating illiteracy, sparetime institutions at all levels were set up for the different needs from people in various fields, and it yielded remarkable results. The illiteracy rate dropped from 80 percent to 42 percent. Approximately 3 million illiterates were educated; and over 10 million individuals graduated from elementary, secondary and higher institutions.

2) The stagnation period

During the ten-year chaos known as the 'Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution' from 1966 to 1976, adult education, like other educational enterprises, was stagnant. The whole sector came to a standstill.

3) The re-development period

"Development of 'productive Forces' Promotes the Advancement of Adult Education in China"---Report in ICAE China Symposium in Shanghai, May 1984. From Convergence Vol.17, No.3, 1984, p.12.

After the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Conference of the Chinese Communist Party, especially in the period of the Sixth Five-year Plan (1981-1985), adult education in China entered a new phase. The whole adult educational program made a great leap forward in terms of the scopes of schools, the clientele they serve, and the quality of the programs. Presently, there are more than 1200 adult higher education institutions, over 4000 secondary technical schools, 300,000 worker schools and 3,500 country-run peasant technical schools. There are 900,000 university and two-year college adult graduates and 1,420,000 secondary technical school adult graduates. Furthermore, the illiteracy of over 1,500,000 persons has been "wiped out".[3]

4.2. The Rapid Development of Adult Education since 1978

The awakening of a strong adult educational force after the 'cultural revolution' derived from China's ambitious goal of modernizing the country. Upon the adoption of the 'open-door policy' at the end of the 1970s, adult education has become an essential supplement in terms of the pool of the trained workforce.

More challenges should be dealt with by cadres (all ranks of administrative personnel, including government officials, party officials and those involved in mass organizations) and business administrators during the transitional period. To ensure that the ranks of the cadres become more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent is a long established objective of the central government since 1978. Special training in social science and management skills to those people became a top priority.

Another important stream of adult education is the training of educators and teachers to develop the field and upgrade the quality of education. The statistics indicate that the

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3 "Adult Education in China" --- An unpublished presented paper by the Research Institute of Adult Education, Shanghai Second Education College, 1986.

large number (about one third) of unqualified teachers is a national disgrace. Therefore, in-service teacher's training has been gaining closer attention.

Last, the educational programs for senior citizens has raised the great attention of the whole society. China has now 80 million people over sixty. Because of the adoption of family planning and the 'one-child' policy, the proportion of elderly in the population will become greater in the coming decades. How will China get this large population, especially the retired people to adapt to their late-age adulthood, and meanwhile change identically with the society? Education will certainly play a fairly important role.

All these conditions have made adult education a boom movement which, in turn, requires the identification of the theoretical base for its further development.

4.3. The Present Guiding Principles of the Adult Education Program

The "Decision on the Reformation of the Education System" issued by the central government in 1985 proclaimed this guiding principle:"Education must serve the socialist construction and in return, socialist construction must rely on education."[4] The Chinese National Adult Education Conference which was held in early December, 1986 was an accelerator for the promotion of adult education. From the major conclusions of the conference, the guiding principle of adult education "to develop and reform adult education, to make it actively address the multiple needs of economic and social development" was strongly emphasized. Under the general guide-line, the following principles are being stressed:

First, to focus on the development of job-related competence. Thus the criteria are: 1) Learning is combined with practice; 2) Learning is based on needs and deficiencies; 3) Learning is based on what people are doing in their jobs.

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[4] Shu Wen (Ed.), The Study on "Decision of the Reformation of the Education system" Shanghai: People's Publishing House, 1985

From this point of view, the relationship between degree study and in-service training must be dealt with wisely. The training of the vast majority of workers, peasants and cadres is widely initiated while the importance of degree study is not denied. More attention should be paid to position-qualifying training for the workforce and administrators and thus produce direct economic and social benefits.

Second, to mobilize all positive forces including governmental institutions, economic organizations and units, enterprises, universities, research institutions, democratic parties, social agencies and associations from all walks of life in running adult education programs. In the rural areas, those forces such as regular primary and middle schools, vocational schools as well as agricultural technicians, administrative personnel, some specialized households and skilled individuals, will have to play the active roles in developing adult education. Millions of peasants need technical training. And the training for new employees, that were former peasants, is also urgently required in town enterprises.

Third, schooling and training for adults can take place in various forms which can provide better opportunities for trainees. For example, the combination of long-term training with short-term training, off-service training with in-service training, classroom teaching with distance education, including Television, broadcasting, correspondence education, and so forth. Sparetime study and self-study are encouraged. The credit system can be introduced and schooling can be prolonged by flexible terms. Better study conditions and teaching facilities such as television sets, video recorders and other devices should be provided to adult learners by the enterprises and educational institutions.

Fourth, in order to promote adult education, further reform will take place in the personnel, wages, and employment systems. The purpose of reform is to encourage the employees to work better and to make them feel happier in their positions through

professional training.[5] A system of position qualification certification will be established. The qualified personnel trained in the adult education sector should be given the same reward as those who are educated in the regular education sector.

All the above listed criteria are serving the purposes of reformation and development of adult education so as to propel societal changes and to increase productive forces.

4.4. The Tasks and Goals of Adult Higher Education

China's new broad educational policy and plans were laid out by the Minister of Education in 1978. He stated four guiding principles for educational development for the period 1978 to 1985:

1. Revolutionizing education;
2. Structuring educational outputs to the needs and capabilities of China's economic development;
3. Adjusting the content and methodology of teaching to the demands of modern science and technology;
4. Placing greater stress on raising the quality of education, especially higher education to produce skilled personnel.[6]

These broad policies established the context for both regular education and education for the adult sectors. Meanwhile, the central government clearly viewed adult education as critical to the modernization process. Proceeding from the above guide-lines, Zang Boping, then Vice-Minister responsible for the education of workers and peasants, outlined in 1980 the following objectives for adult education in 'socialist modernization':

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[5] It remains the people's prejudice that the adult education program is inferior to the regular educational system. And it is not the rare cases that the graduates from the former sector being disappointed. The reform aims to adjust and proceed to eliminate the misleading ideas.

[6] Liu Xi Yao, at the National Education Conference, April 22, 1978. Chinese Education Beijing; People's University, May 1978 p.5

1) To intensify adult education so as to increase the rate of labour productivity;
2) To augment and renew scientific and technical knowledge of a workforce that has been basically out of touch with recent developments in its fields and professions;
3) To intensify adult education as a major avenue for training specialists in the specialists in the various trades and industries such as engineers, technicians, agricultural and livestock specialists, managers of all kinds, teachers, doctors...
4) To build up the cultural level, that is to say the general educational level, necessary for a highly socialist cultural civilization (Carman, 1985: 31).

From these government issued objectives, it can be clearly understood that in China, at least, more attention is given to social requirements than to individual roles, and personal enrichment is expected to flow out of social advancement. Moreover, at the International Symposium of Adult Education sponsored by International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) in Shanghai, China in 1984, Yao Zhong-Da, secretary general of the Chinese Association of Adult Education, said in his presentation "The Advance of Adult Education Is Promoted by the Development of Productive Force" that

> *"China is a socialist developing country. The development of socialism takes as its norm the historical materialism. The basic principle of which is production. That is to say, all societal activities must follow and serve the development of production. Education in general and adult education in particular must do so."*[7]

The tenet of Yao's speech, as he explained, is that the purpose of adult education in China is to help to raise production. However, this 'proclamation' (considering the fact that Yao is an high official in charge of adult education in China) startled many of the panelists and the audience, especially those from the West. Yao was thus bombarded with such questions as "If adult education is to serve production, how can China maintain its socialist morality?" "How do the Chinese view the self-development of individuals?" "Can society be improved only through the increase of production?" As a matter of fact, these are the challenging aspects for the reformation of Chinese adult education. And in the last ten years, it has been the tendency to run more programs in terms of self-fulfilment to meet the needs of mainly the urban residents. In the big cities like Shanghai, Beijing and

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[7] Proceedings of the International Symposium of Adult Education Shanghai Education Publishing House, 1985, p.8.

Guangzhou, the number of non-government sponsored institutions for continuing education which open to the whole society is getting larger.[8]

On the whole, it could be concluded that the present purposes of Chinese adult education have three main objectives: Firstly, the main task for adult higher education is to nurture the personnel of different trades in a planned way. A goal settled in the Seventh Five-Year Plan (1986-1990) is that all kinds of adult higher institutions, during these fives years, will train 2.1 million of special personnel above college level, 150% more than what was produced during the period of the Sixth Five-Year Plan or, put another way, amount to 81% of the total graduates from general higher institutions in the period of the Seventh Five-year Plan. It should be elaborated here that the total enrollment of adult higher institutions in the years from 1983 to 1985 was more than 1.64 million which is to be included in the planned target. Therefore, it is not a matter of quantity but rather the concern of quality which requires more effort from all education workers.

Another goal for adult higher education is to train and educate workers and administrators with high school educational backgrounds in order to improve their knowledge and expertise for their job positions. Since this training is with the definite aim that the programs are proved to be more effective than merely for degree obtaining, especially in terms of matching the requirements from the productive enterprises.

Additionally, a very important task for adult higher education is to provide recurrent continuing education for those who possess tertiary level diplomas and professional titles. The continuing educational programs are to guide such key personnel to update their view of related fields. With the rapid development of modern societies and the progress of science and technology, it becomes a vital issue for the professionals to absorb current knowledge of science and management. Therefore, recurrent education, in some ways, plays a decisive role in terms of China's catching up with modern societies.

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[8] Shanghai: Wen Hui Daily April 5, 1986 p.4

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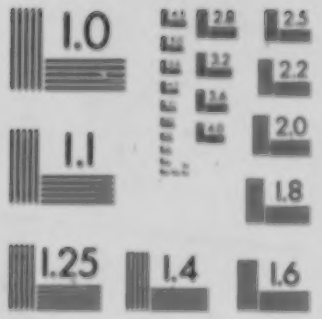

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The present leadership has claimed to conduct a sort of socialist adult education with typical Chinese characteristics. The purposes and objectives are to raise the quality of millions of working people, train and prepare specialists, administrators and managers to the greatest extent, as well as to develop new kinds of talented people who are dedicated, moral, disciplined and well-informed so as to serve the country's modernization target.

4.5. The Present Structure of Adult Education System in China

4.5.1. The sponsorship of the adult education program

In Chinese parlance, the broadening of educational responsibility to all social institutions, not just those formerly called "Shools", is characterized as "walking on two legs." The idea is to mobilize strength and efforts from all sectors in the society to run schools and conduct educational activities, from central to local governments, government offices, administrative departments, factories and other economic enterprises. All are to become agents and sponsors (see Appendix IV). In recent years, private initiatives also have been greatly encouraged.

(1) Government Agencies

The adult education service is coordinated from the National Employee Education Administrative Committee (NEEAC) which is a major part of the Central Education Department, responsible for the formulation, implementation and administration of adult education policy, while each province has some direction which is passed down to each affiliated district and area. Nevertheless, the NEEAC is always expected to play a major role determining strategic national policy for the whole system, assessing to implementation by individual agencies and attempting to ensure that their efforts are coordinated and compatible with national economic requirements.

(2) State Council Ministries

Subject to the shift of the general line to the economic reform since 1981, all government ministries and commissions under the state council are required to provide

education for employees within their field throughout China. At the national level, each ministry has a specialist employee education department, which is responsible for defining core curricula and teaching plans as well as assessing the implementation by equivalent setup at provincial level. These provincial offices are, in turn, responsible for the line administration of specialist employee education institutions which enroll those employed locally in a given system. In addition, they also provide supervision to the in-service training programs provided by individual enterprises and large factories within the field concerned.

(3) Non-government Agencies

The central and local branches of several non-governmental mass organizations are concerned with the administration of adult education. Amongst the mass organizations, the All China Federation Trade Union (ACFTU) is currently both the largest and fastest growing direct provider of employee education. In 1981, enrollment in Trade Union administered schools was 1.3 million; by 1983, it had risen to 3.3 million, including some 51,000 employees attending 66 Trade Union universities. (Hayhoe, 1984: 184)

In addition to the ACFTU, the Chinese Communist Youth League (CCYL), National Women's Federation (NWF) and Chinese Scientific and Technical Association (CSTA) also support adult education programs vigorously. The principle role of the Youth League is to mobilize young people to study, just as the NWF encourages females to join classes. Their learning subjects are mostly job related while some ones such as Chinese history, philosophy and arts are also available for young employees to pursue their self enrichment. The CSTA, whose membership is based upon academic and research scientists and engineers, operates a modest program of direct provision, but its main role is to organize lectures, seminars and symposia particularly regarding new techniques.

China's eight democratic parties have performed a very active role in sponsoring adult education. These democratic parties are not opposition parties of the ruling communist party. (See Appendix VIII) Most of the democratic parties formed during

the War of Anti-Japanese (1937-1945) and the War of Liberation (1946-1949) with the majority members of intellectuals and patriotic democrats. Their political program were to varying degrees anti-imperialist, and anti-feudalism during the democratic revolution. After liberation in 1949, all the democratic parties become a component of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), a patriotic united front organization under the CCP leadership. But during the ten-year turmoil (1966-1976), they were forced to stop functioning until 1980. They have come into their own again and have recruited 30,000 new members. In the current modernization drive, these parties are considered "indispensable" by CCP and government. [9] They are given great freedom to run adult education programs and are fully supported by the government. By 1983, they had established 600 schools and training classes across the country. (Su, 1984: 68) A most well known sparetime adult school in Shanghai -- Qian Jin College of Continuing Education with 18,000 students in 320 classes is sponsored by one of the democratic parties. It was extended to this scope on the base of 300 students at the time of establishment in 1983. After 4 years of development, it is now the sister school of the University of Miami in U.S.A. and the principal of the College has been exploring a way to open a branch school in the United States with the major specialities of Chinese traditional medicine and Chinese cuisine. [10] This accomplishment exceeds even what the Communist Party has achieved.

The educational responsibility for adults has also expanded to the church. The first sparetime educational institution run by the Catholic Church opened in Beijing, in 1985. "China Daily" indicated that many Catholic were "fine scholars in various fields" and they would like to make a contribution to the education cause. [11] In Shanghai, the Christian

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[9] Su Wenming, (Ed.) China after Mao Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1984, p.67

[10] During the author's field research in Shanghai in June 1987, Mr. Cai Guang-tian, the principal of the Qian Jin College invited the writer twice to visit his College as an "honoured guest", for the writer taught there before leaving for Canada, in 1985.

[11] Beijing: China Daily May 27, 1985 p.3

organizations such as YMCA and YWCA are also playing a very active role in organizing adult education programs that are opening up to the whole society. The majority of the courses they provide are foreign languages, and about 75 percent of the classes is English followed by Japanese, French and German. According to surveys, almost 1,000,000 adults in China participated in the study of foreign languages during the years of 1981 to 1987.[12] More and more people, particularly the young adults, are enthusiastic about entering these institutions for self-improvement.

In conclusion, the responsibility for the education of adults in China is shared by the whole society. As Zou (1985) indicated:[13]

> *"China's education is a people's education having a distinctive mass character. The people need education and are enthusiastic about it. Therefore, by giving full play to the initiative of the state, and the enthusiasm of the people, enterprises, and government institutions for running schools, it is possible to develop the educational undertaking faster and with better results."*

4.5.2. Funding

The principles governing the funding of adult education are derived from (i) individual enterprise budgets; (ii) local Trade Union funds; and (iii) provincial education bureaux budgets. According to a 1981 Ministry of Finance regulation, enterprises were obliged to devote 1.5 % of their total wage bill towards employee education. Additional funds are provided within enterprises by trade union branches under the condition that the enterprise has met its financial commitments to the state. Under the PRC Union law, management is required to remit a sum equivalent to 2.05 of the wage bill to the union branch and according to the 1981 regulation, 25% to 37.5% of this is to be spent on the education of the union members. These funds provide direct support for in-service

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12 Zhou Qingong & He Jie, "Post university continuing education" in Adult Education in China Shanghai Second Educational Institute, 1987 p.80

13 Zou Guang-wei, "China's Education Aim and Theory" International Review of Education Vol 31 No2, 1985 p.193

employee education programs and are also drawn upon if the enterprise chooses to train some employees in outside institutions, for example, those run by the state or provincial educational bureau. In such cases, fee payments from employing enterprises are added to funds drawn from the educational bureau budgets to provide the operational budget of the institution concerned. However, for those institutions sponsored by the Democratic Parties and religious organizations open to the whole society, the budgets are mostly from the tuition fees.[14]

It is clear that this pattern of funding leaves much to be desired. The problems point to the major flaw in current funding arrangements -- they discriminate in favour of the larger and more profitable enterprises at the expense of those smaller and less profitable whose employees are arguably in greater need of education. A further problem is that the societal-wide programs are very often hindered by the lack of funds but there is no one to hear their pleas for assistance.. All these defects have now raised the awareness of the Ministry of Education and more balanced funding structure is being explored.

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[14] All the funding patterns was reported fully in the issue of Renmin Jiaoyu (People's Education) May 1981.

4.6. The Present Provision of the Adult Educational System

Since the Twelfth Congress of the CCP to transfer the general line to economic reform and reconstruction in the year of 1982, adult education, as a very important measure for the economic production, has entered a "golden age" in China's history. A wide scale adult educational network with the characteristics of "multi-administrative levels, multi-formats and multi-alignment" has been formed in the country.

To meet the needs of socialist modernization, adult education is to train the personnel at all levels of various fields. The whole network can be divided into the following alignment based on the classification of the education receiver. (For the curriculum of each discipline of training, pleasd see Appendix V.)

Category / content / Item	Personnel Structure	Adult Education Structure
Multi-alignments	Agriculture, industry and service-industry	Worker/peasant education, cadre's education, teacher's training and recurrent education
Multi-levels	All levels of skilled workers and all levels of professionals	Adult elementary, secondary and higher education
Multi-elements	Moral, knowledge and skill	Adult continuing education, vocational, technical education and leisure education

(1)Employee Education

This is the most active part of the adult education system. The programs are run by all levels of economic sections and enterprises. The purpose of the education is to raise the quality of the existing labour force directly, and thereby to have an immediate effect on the economy and social services. This function alone justifies the importance of adult education.

The "China Daily" reported that "some 80 million Chinese workers, about 80% of the country's total workforce have received vocational and skill training in the past five years."[15] More than 30 million young workers, who did not have a chance to get a proper education in the 'cultural revolution', have now attained a secondary-school educational level through either sparetime or on-site training courses organized within work units or sponsored by other sectors in society. In addition, 4,790,000 senior office workers have taken courses in economics and business management; one million technicians have learned foreign languages, use of computers, and management skills. More than three million graduates of worker universities and vocational schools and 70,000 trainee managers have entered various industries. Now an ambitious program has been created to train managers and party secretaries of China's 6,300 large and medium-sized industrial enterprises. The three year scheme (1986-1988) is to involve training 50,000 people.[16]

There were 829,006 workers studying in secondary vocational schools and 1,718,444 in institutes of higher learning in May, 1985. According to the brief report on peasant and worker education, China now has 31,647 schools and training centres for workers and staff, employing 206,000 teachers.[17] Among 155,134 factories, enterprises and businesses, large or small, 109,271 or 67.9 percent are running short-term courses

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15 Beijing: China Daily March 4, 1986 p.3
16 Beijing: China Daily January 15, 1986.
17 Ibid. January 3, 1986

and training classes of some type.[18] Millions of workers are involved in making up for education they missed during the 'cultural revolution'.

(2) Cadres' Education

The word 'cadre' has double meaning in the Chinese case. The first definition is a synonym of 'mental worker'. While the second definition, which is more accurate the meaning here, means all levels of administrative officials including government officials, party officials and those administrators involved in mass organizations (e.g. Trade Union, Women's Association, etc.). Cadres' education is a program developed in recent years since the central government has expressed its commitment , concerning the criteria of the promotion of administrators, that the ranks of the cadres should be more open-minded, younger in average age, better educated and more professionally competent is a long established principle of the central committee.[19] Different kinds of schools have emerged as the times require, which include party schools and political colleges sponsored by party organizations from central to local; colleges for cadre's administration directed by all levels of economic sectors and the special training programs for cadres (more emphasize on modern administrative theories) run by the comprehensive universities. The curriculum is designed to serve the main topic of "reconstruction for socialist modernization" to arouse those trainees' consciousness to the theories and practices of modern scientific management. The programs are also considered as an effective way to train those "Third Echelons" to make them more competent to be successors to the veterans. Therefore, the cadre's education is the part of the adult education program which has pre-determined direction.

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[18] Brief Report on Peasant and Worker Education Shanghai Worker/Peasant Education Committee, 1985

[19] These criteria were presented by the Minister of Central Organization Ministry in 1980, and the bill was recognized in the Twelfth Party Congress in 1981.

(3)Teachers' and professionals' Continuing Education

In addition to the pre-service teacher education system, the in-service teacher's program has become a large section of the present adult education system. There are institutions for upgrading teachers at many levels.

The Fourth National Conference of Teacher's Education which was held in June, 1980 proved especially significant for the development of Chinese teacher education. The Conference indicated that the high percentage of unqualified teachers was a national disgrace. According to one investigation, one-third of the teachers in primary and secondary schools were under-qualified (Hawkins, 1983: 213), partially due to the ten-year gap in the teacher's education. Thus, it was strongly emphasized by the leading body that to modernize the country, education must provide leadership. In the process of developing education, the improvement of the educators is one thing, and the advancement of society is another. To make the former suit the needs of the latter, teachers' training must be expanded.

Therefore, it is the writer's belief that in the relationship between teachers' education and the development of the national economy and culture, the teachers' education system should be able to assess and forecast the social requirements for this type of education. It should also be able to respond rapidly with changes in the educational structure, content of teaching and curricula in the schools, so as to accelerate the transformation of science and technology to actual production forces in their contribution to China's modernizational drive. The writer also believes that the strategic position and role of teacher's education should find expression in the relationship between the two major development -- teachers' education and general education. Teachers' education, as Mr. Yu Qing-lian presented in his paper, might be seen as "machine tool" of the entire

educational cause; as the basis for preparing all other qualified people, it is the most important link in advancing the whole educational system.[20]

At the present stage, there are mainly two categories of in-service teachers' education which started in 1980. The first one is the remedial qualification training program to upgrade those teachers of various courses, making the trainees reach the competent with their teaching tasks. A certain goal was set that "All these upgraded teachers must meet the requirements in terms of formal schooling, that is, primary school teachers must attain the qualification of graduates from secondary teacher training schools; junior middle school teachers must possess the qualification above two year college training; and senior middle school teachers must have the diplomas of teachers' colleges or universities. This objective is to be fulfilled by 1990.[21]

The second type is further recurrent education for those qualified teachers with the relevant background. In order to update school teachers' academic qualification, higher educational institutions are to take the responsibility for offering graduate programs for in-service school teachers would enhance the quality of elementary and secondary education.Average teachers might be required to understand the fundamentals of pedagogy and grasp the essential skills in teaching and education. Those in charge of teaching at schools, however, should be required to have more training in both theoretical and practical, so they will have a better knowledge of pedagogy, psychology, teaching and learning theories. As for the personnel in charge of the key schools, they must have a record of higher learning in pedagogy and have a fair knowledge of its main subjects including pedagogy, psychology, teaching methodology, history of education, educational philosophy, educational management, and educational sociology and so forth. In addition, they should be able to conduct research in educational science.

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20 Yu Qing-lian, "Strategic Position and Prospects of Teacher's Education" -- presented paper in the Fourth National Conference of Teacher's Education in Beijing, June, 1981.

21 Ibid.

Shanghai municipality, the largest industrial, cultural and educational base in the country, has set up a fairly complete plan for teachers' training since 1978. There are ten district colleges of education taking charge of the upgrading programs for primary and junior high school teachers within each district; two Municipal Education Institutes conducting the training courses for senior high school teachers; and the updating advanced teaching programs for the core teachers and administrators have become one of the main tasks of normal universities and higher educational institutions in the key-point comprehensive universities.

The implementations, verified in the writer's interviews with two principals of Shanghai Education College of Chang-Ning district, appear to be on target. From 1978 to 1986, they have trained 20,000 junior high and elementary teachers to reach the qualifications for their positions. When senior high teachers had their training from the higher level institutes, 80% of the teachers in 40 middle school of the district had obtained higher education diplomas compared with 40% previously. And 10% of the primary school teachers have reached college education compared with 2% before 1978. The objective is 50% by the year of 1995.[22] The training programs of this college now are expanding to the pre-school teachers and to the teachers in rural areas.

(4) Rural Adult Education under the New Situation

China's rural economic development has undergone a series of changes since 1978. The introduction of 'household contracts' and the adjustments of the rural economic structure have stimulated the rural economy toward specialization, commercialization and modernization. 'Self-sufficient production' is turning into a commercial venture.

"Education is the avenue to become rich" is a statement well accepted by the peasants. A newspaper article reported a survey conducted by the Sheyang County of

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22 Information obtained from the writer's interview with Mr. Cao Zhi-Xing, the Principal, and Mr. Jiang, Vice Principal of Shanghai Education College of Changning District in June 12, 1987.

Jiangsu province on the income of 194 peasant families. It showed that 17% of those family members having secondary education had higher incomes than those with an elementary education, and it was two times higher than those families whose members were uneducated.[23]

Since the new policy adopted in 1978, peasant education has begun to lay emphasis on practical technical programs while giving some attention to political education and literacy. Course content include agriculture, husbandry, fishery, forestry, industry, trade, transportation, architecture and a variety of social services. The methods include classroom lectures, group learning, correspondence, broadcasting, television, and independent studies. There also were sparetime learning activities, and part-time learning participation. The program offered covered topics in higher education, secondary technical education, vocational education, the popularization of scientific knowledge, and literacy education.

Technical classes, sponsored by peasant vocational schools and peasant spare-time schools operated by townships are the main agencies through which programs are offered. In the suburban areas of large cities and relatively well-developed counties and townships, peasant secondary and higher technical education programs have become a focus. From 1981 to 1985, one hundred million young and middle-aged peasants in China have been trained in all kinds of preparatory schools and classes mentioned above.[24]

(5) Distance Education

Distance education began operation in China in the early 1960s, only to be closed with all education institutions in the ten-year domestic turmoil. Having reopened in 1979,

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23 Beijing: People's Daily March 22, 1983. p.2

24 Gu Geng-lin, (Vice President of the Committee of Worker/Peasant Education of Shanghai) "New Challenges and Characteristics of Rural Adult" Research in Adult Higher Education No.6, 1986, pp.12-14.

a distance education network, as an indispensable part of adult education system, with multiple levels and disciplines has been developed nationwide.

The major forms of distance education include radio, television, correspondence and newspapers -- a system of unified planning, multi-level administration and multi-level course offerings. The programs include regular certified middle and higher education, on-the-job vocational training, various kinds of single course provisions, and continuing education for the professionals. According to one's needs and individual conditions, one may select the program which is most suitable.

Admission to TV university is similar to the other higher education institutions except that students require their employers' approval and are obliged to pass a national entrance examination. This is of a slightly lower standard than that for conventional universities, but nevertheless, it screens out over half of all applicants. Non-registered learners may enter the final examinations and, if successful, receive the same diploma as registered students. Therefore, TV university programs, in a large sense, have provided tremendous aid to self-study students.

The Central Broadcasting University run by the National Ministry of Education is the major body which prepares curricula, program output and stipulates national examination standards. In addition, virtually all provincial education bureau augment their efforts by transmitting locally produced programs. Up to date, the central and local broadcasting and TV universities have offered more than 400 courses, among which, the central level sponsored 150 foundation and specialized courses making up 70 percent of the total credits in different specialty majors.

Since October 1986, the China Education TV Station has been formally put into operation. The annual hours of educational programs provided by the broadcast and TV universities have increased from 1320 to 3868 hours. In the meantime, nine provincial and municipal education TV stations, 29 educational development centres and 85 learning

centres are under construction supported by World Bank loans which amount to $ 37,000,000 (U.S.).

In the same period from 1979 to 1986, according to the statistics collected by Shanghai Research Institute for Talentology Development, the national network of Broadcast and TV universities have conducted six years of formal recruiting and have enrolled 1,470,000 participants. From this group, 1,070,000,have studied for comprehensive programs and 400,000 students have studied a single course. There are about 800,000 viewers who are not formally enrolled but are doing self-directed learning. At present, the Broadcast and TV universities have 1,020,000 participants among whom 800,000 are enrolled and 350,000 are self-directed learners. About 610,000 people enrolled in the previous four years have graduated with university diplomas and 100,000 people have been issued single course completion certificates.[25] According to the follow-up studies of the graduates conducted by the local broadcast and TV universities, most participants have reached the required level of training and their employment units are satisfied.[26]

(6)Self-study Schemes

A major innovation since 1978 is the higher education self-study scheme open to the whole society. As the term indicates, self-study involves students studying on their own, but following a prescribed curricula, and in some cases, recommended material followed by a recognized examination process.

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25 All the data here were acquired through an interview with Mr. Hu Rui-Wen, Xiao Xue-Jin, Vice Presidents of Shanghai Research Institute for Talentology Development, and Jiang Ming-he, the chief of the information section of the same institute on June 22, 1987. The Educational Statistic Bank has been set up in this institute since 1980, with all the data on both general and adult education sectors.

26 Report of "The Follow-up Study on the First 2,000 College Diploma Obtainers through Self-study Examinations in Shanghai" -- by Department of Sociology, Fudan University, Shanghai, March, 1987. p.32.

Examination standards are determined by the National Self-study Committee affiliated with the Central Education Ministry, but each province determines its own specific examination methods. Examinations are generally based on a credit system whereby students present themselves for examination in one subject at a sitting; if successful, they are awarded certificates and, having obtained the required number, they are then awarded diplomas which are intended to indicate that they have achieved the academic level equivalent to conventional graduates.

After two years of a pilot testing and three years of experiments, the national self-study examinations were well established in 1985. The self-study examinations for higher education have been administered for the courses in sixty specialized majors in disciplines such as: science and engineering, arts, agriculture, medicine, finance and economics, politics and laws, education and physical education. There are 345 examination locations all over the country. Currently there are three million applicants. One and a half million have received single course certificates for at least two courses, 150,000 people have received the course completion certificates for seven courses, and 44,600 have been granted college or university graduation diplomas. The self-study examinations for secondary specialized education started in 1983. By the end of 1985, 17 provinces and municipalities had administered examinations for 27 specialized majors.[27]

(7)Education for Senior Citizens

China has 80 million people over 60, four-fifths of them living in rural areas. The proportion of elderly in the population will become greater in the coming decades. In order to maintain the rights of the aged, and promote a better life style and role in society, the Chinese National Committee on the Aging was established in 1983, consisting of representatives from government departments, people's organizations and scientific press

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27 The figures are from "Adult Education in China"-- An unpublished paper presented by the Research Institute of Adult Education, Shanghai Second Education College, 1986.

groups. One of the major tasks of the committee is "to help society arrange the study, work and social activities of senior citizens in order to enrich their lives and enable them to take part in the country's modernization.[28]

The organized educational programs for senior citizens, as usual, started in the urban areas. Different approaches are being used in the experimental stages. Despite the lack of finances, many problems are being solved by mobilizing the efforts of the society.

Seventy-three colleges and schools for the aged with more than 3000 enrollments were set up mainly in the big cities by the end of 1985. They have one to three year programs designed for the special needs and interests of the retired. All sorts of courses have been provided such as psychology, gerontology, philosophy, ethics sociology, preventive medicare, children's education, calligraphy, painting, creative-writing, gardening and cuisine among others. The curriculum as a whole aims at expanding cultural and scientific knowledge as well as teaching basic principles of mental and physical health. These institutions for the aged, with flexible forms and colourful activities, are very popular among the elderly and more will be provided to the rural areas. They are now gaining recognition by society and are warmly supported by the government.

By July 1986, more than 140 educational institutions for senior citizens had been established in the country with total enrollment of more than 50,000.[29]

(8) Summary

From the provision of the adult education system briefly listed above, the functions of the current Chinese adult education programs can be identified. The first is in-service training whose purpose is to raise the individual's productive ability. The second

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28 Zheng She, "New Problems, New Prospects" China Reconstructions No7, July, 1986, p.8

29 Dong Mingchuan & Zhu Zhongdan, "Adult Education in China -- Present Trends and Prospects" Adult Education and Development No.28, March 1987, p.157

is the completion of basic education as a remedial program to compensate for the loss during the ten-year 'cultural revolution'. The third is adult higher education and secondary technical education, which are also referred to as degree or certificate education. The fourth is continuing education in which new knowledge and skills are acquired and disseminated. The fifth is social cultural and life education (including the education of the elderly) for their personal enrichment.

These functions are not mutually exclusive and with the development of the economy, society and science and technology, one or two of these functions become the focus. At present, in-service training is the emphasis. Degree education will be needed for a long time to come. Continuing education will have rapid development. Social cultural and lifelong education should continue indefinitely.

The characteristics of adult education in China are derived from its functions. Chinese adult educators hold different opinions as to what are the characteristics of China's adult education. There are basically two views of the issue: one is that the clientele, no matter how numerous they are, or what walks of life they represent, are working people. Most of them need to learn things relating to their work and the raising of their occupational competence. The other characteristic is spare-time learning for self-fulfilment. This category is popular with young people who desire to improve the quality of their lives.

4.6. Reasons for the Rapid Expansion of Adult Education

There are six evident reasons which have spured rapid expansion in adult education in the past decade. First, since China, after 1978, has entered a new modernization movement era in which economic construction has become the focus of the country. A great variety of qualified individuals is required. The demand cannot be met by the effort of the regular education system alone. Adult education, therefore, becomes indispensible for the training of people, especially those who have joined the workforce.

Second, the on-going economic reformation and the"open-door" policy require that adult educators assist people through education and dissemination of information about evolving trends and technical developments in other parts of the world. It is recognized that one cannot function well in a highly skilled and technological world without current information, new techniques and methods. Thus, modern science, computer science and foreign languages become the predominant subjects in the field of adult education.

Third, the present leadership requires administrators and managers at various levels to be younger, more open-minded, better informed and specialized. These criteria have stimulated active participation in continuing education of the administrative personnel and professionals.

Fourth, with the new responsibility system which contracts land to each household, the rural economy has made great progress. Peasants desire to become richer, obtain higher yields, develop their township enterprises and improve management. All of the above require science and technology. Under these circumstances, the peasants thirst for education. They need schools in their neighbourhoods.

Fifth, instead of a planned economy, the state is developing its commodity economy. More and more adults are interested in studying economics and business administration, and are trying to master the laws of economic development.

Sixth, in order to encourage and support adult education, the state has developed the following policies:

a) Expenses for workers' education in the enterprises are disbursed at the rate of 1.5% of the payroll and are listed directly under production costs, while those for staff members' education in administrative units or educational institutions may amount to 1.5% of the standard wages for staff members and are disbursed from the administrative and operating expenses.

b) Expenses for education in an enterprise can be disbursed at a certain percentage from its developing fund, the after-tax profits. The enterprise can use the saving of a lump-sum payment or keep aside a certain proportion of its profit for education.

c) The student who attends courses related to his/her work is guaranteed time-off work but will receive regular wages.

d) Sparetime study is encouraged; the better learners are given encouragement and are rewarded.

e) All students at adult higher educational institutes which are approved by the state, are to be granted diplomas after they have completed all the required courses in the program, and have passed the graduation examinations. The state recognizes the diploma recipients' record of studies in regular and specialized courses and accords them wages at the same level as those graduates from the regular school system. All of these factors have vigorously promoted the development of adult education.[30]

4.7. Conclusion

i. Adult education in China has entered into a "boom period" since the year of 1978, when the country is expedited to develop its productive forces to a certain stage (usually called a stage of a "well-off society") by the end of this century. In short, adult education is a kind of outcome of a certain stage of the economy and culture, and in turn, it affects the economy and culture.

ii. The Chinese adult education system is principally designed to combine learning with production. The demand for adult education can be classified into various types. First of all is the demand from those who did not receive any vocational training prior to starting their jobs and who need to acquire 'technical competence'. Others need to adapt to

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30 Don Ming-chuan & Zhu Zhong-dan, "Adult Education in China -- Present Trends and Prospects" in Adult Education and Development German Adult Education Association, No. 18, March 1987, pp.165-168.

their present tasks or new work requirements ('social integration'); still others are facing the demands of new technology or demands arising from a transfer to a new occupation. Consequently, as the standard of living improves, the study of social science ('social responsibility') has become a high demand. Particularly the younger generation is longing to enrich their lives (to reach the 'social integration') or to develop personal talents and interests.

iii. The expansion of adult education is a global undertaking; just as are the major factors such as educational science and information technology, which are indispensable to the growth of education. Moreover, China as a developing country should utilize public education to promote the national development and use education as a spur for its economic modernization.

CHAPTER V. THE ANALYSIS OF MOTIVATIONS FOR ADULT LEARNERS IN CHINA

One important consideration for adult education is human motivation. As no groups or individuals in society should be denied access to adult education, barriers to access should be removed and in particular, the motivation for adults to learn should be studied. Some well accepted motivational theories are Abraham Maslow's *hierarchy of human need*, B.F.Skinner's *operant reinforcement theory*, and Robert Havighurst's *developmental tasks for the stages of adulthood*. Each of these theories contributes important factors which provide a fairly accurate portrayal of human motivation -- what makes people do the things they do.

However, to study the motivation for involvement in adult education in China, it will be more suitable to elaborate on the needs and drive theories from the social and societal perspectives. Under this category, Cyril Houle on *Learner's Typology*, Horwits's *Social Environment Theory*, and a Chinese scholar Pan's view on motivations are reviewed.

5.1. The Theoretical Reviews on Motivational Studies

5.1.1. Pan Shu on "proper" and "improper" Motivations

A Chinese scholar, Pan Shu, states that there are two kinds of motivation for adults to be involved in continuing study programs. One is "indirective long term motivation" under which the learner considers the study as an integrated part of the societal need. That means the learner believes that study is for future service to the society. The other one is called "directive instant motivation" which is directly related to the learning activities. The

learner under this motivation is interested in the study itself and enjoys the result of knowledge attainment.[1]

Pan's proposal of the two kinds of motivation seems to coincide with some Western scholars such as Hurt, who classifies the motivation for study into "extrinsic or instrumental" motivations and "intrinsic or integrative" motivations (Petri, 1981: 135). The former kind reflects a degree of external compulsion or pressure toward participation in educational activities, while the latter one denotes more dedication from within the person to task for the satisfaction one receives from the learning.

These classifications of motivation obviously have positive repercussions in research and scientific circles of motivation study. However, in many aspects, especially in the case of adult education, the "intrinsic" and "extrinsic", "indirective long term" and "directive instant" motivations are so intertwined that they can scarcely be discussed separately. Furthermore, Pan tries to judge the correctness or incorrectness of the certain kind of motivation that people hold by showing the incompatibilities of the social-need oriented motivation and self-learning oriented motivation. Contrarily, to the writer's point of view, these two types of motivation could be dovetailed very integratively. A survey report in the latter part of this chapter is to serve as a proof of the writer's understanding of this point.

5.1.2. Cyril Houle on Learner's Typology

Cyril Houle formulated a typology that identified three types of adult learner, which he described as follows:

> *The first, or, as they will be called, the goal-oriented, are those who use education as a means of accomplishing fairly clear-cut objectives. The second, the activity-oriented, are those who take part because they find in the circumstances of learning a meaning which has no necessary connection, and often no connection*

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[1] Pan Shu, Educational Psychology (second edition)Beijing: People's Education Publishing House, 1983. (Chinese in original version)

at all, with the content or announced purposes of the activity. The third, the learning-oriented, seek knowledge for its own sake (Houle, 1961: 15-16).

Houle's provocative study led to a burgeoning of research activity concerned with motivational orientations. And according to his reports, the most extensive recent studies have yielded remarkably similar findings for different populations of adult learners in Canada, the United States and New Zealand (Darkenwald & Merriam, 1982: 133). And the initial survey on educational motivation in adult higher education programs conducted in Northeast China in 1986 also indicated no conflict with those findings.[2]

5.1.3 Abraham Maslow and Hierarchy of Needs

Maslow, who is considered to be a major theoretician of the humanist psychology movement, has developed a motivation theory that emphasizes the striving to reach one's full potential as basic to human motivation. His contributions have had an impact on all levels of education.

In his book Motivation and Personality , Maslow contends that the basic drives of human existence relate to the satisfaction of physiological needs. Once physiological needs are satisfied, the safety and security needs become dominant. Included in this category are stability, protection, and need for law, order and discipline (Maslow, 1970: 39). After the satisfaction of these basic needs, one can proceed towards desires in meaningful social relationships. The next three levels of Maslow's hierarchy are belongingness and love needs, esteem needs, and finally, the need for self-actualization. Adults need to be intimate with others, and yet they want to be more than simply a member of a group; they also must achieve high self-evaluation, self-respect, and self-esteem.

Satisfaction leads to feelings of self-confidence, strength, the sense of being useful in the world. Conversely, the nonsatisfaction of these needs leads to inferiority, weakness and helplessness. The need for self-actualization manifests itself in a desire for self-fulfillment, and for becoming what one has the potential to become. The behavior of the

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[2] See report of the survey in page 137 of this chapter.

self-actualized person is motivated by a new set of needs, which Maslow terms the "being needs" or "metamotivation". These motives are values such as truth, beauty, and goodness, and they provide meaning to the life of the self-actualized individuals which meanwhile constantly stimulate people to test their abilities and expand their horizons (Petri, 1981: 305).

In brief, Maslow believes that any comprehensive theory of human motivation must take into account the individual as a whole. His model for motivation is based on the theory of gratification needs from basic to being needs. The principles of the theory assume that 1) Motivation is the most important underlying aspect of human development; 2) Its holistic nature binds together the multiplicity of human motives, that is to say, it is the tendency for new, higher needs to merge as lower needs are gratified.

Maslow has much to say about the implications of humanistic philosophy for education. Simply stated, according to Maslow, the goal of education is self-actualization, or "helping the person to become the best that he is able to become." Educators should think in terms of bringing about intrinsic rather than extrinsic learning; the educative process should provide peak experiences in which insight and learning occur. The goals of education at any level, Maslow believes, should be the "discovery of identity" and "the discovery of vocation." (Darkenwald & Merriam, 1982: 80)

5.1.4. Horwitz and His Social Environment Theory

Do social situations create motivation? Horwitz has argued that at least some motives (his term is needs) are generated in our social environment. He views those motives as ones which arise from deficiencies relative to goal striving in the psychological environment.[3]

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[3] Horwitz, M. (1956) "Psychological Needs as a Function of Social Environments" in White, L.D. (Ed.) The State of the Social Science University of Chicargo Press, pp.162-183.

This argument is predicated on the assumption that in a social situation, individuals have a *weight* or *power* in decisions of a group that will affect the degree of need satisfaction they can obtain in the social context. Horwitz reported a number of experiments which, he believes, show that the social situation is capable of creating motives. His work is considered partially representative, since he looks at the situation for the creation of motives rather than at the individuals. Emphasis has also been placed on motivations induced by the tasks in which an individual is engaged, by success and failure as they are related to self-esteem; by uncertainty as to what to believe or think about events or oneself, and by the after-effects of making a choice among alternatives.[4]

Horwitz's exposition of social environmental influence over the formation of adult learner's motivation seems to have particular value to the Chinese case, as the social and political structure in China has been under the intense modification since 1978. It can serve as an exploring case in terms of motives or needs as a function of social situations.

5.2. Adult learner's Incentives from the Social Alteration in China

The following are some phenomenal changes in the Chinese society in the recent decade, which are obviously the "transmissions" to adults' learning motives.

5.2.1. "Big Public Pot" and "Iron Rice Bowl" Are Broken

Before the economic reform, each worker or staff member received a fixed amount of wages. Those who worked hard got the same as those who worked less -- both "ate from the big public pot". It was considered absolute egalitarianism and the "Iron rice bowl" is of the same nature. The only difference is that the former was manifested in the distribution system and the latter, in the labour system. After 1949, the Chinese government instituted a system whereby the state provided jobs for people. Once a person

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[4] The writer's reading notes from the chapter of 'Social Motivation' of the book: Cofer, C.N. Motivation: Theory and Research New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 1967, pp.768-807.

was employed by a state enterprises, he was guaranteed a life-long job and fixed income which was determined according to the wage scale. One could not opt to change the job nor could one be fired. People metaphorically described this as an unbreakable "Iron rice bow.".

Since the "Big Public Pot" has been abolished, managers now have the right to manage. Higher wages will reward the diligent and competent, while the lazy and inefficient will suffer. When the "iron rice bowl" was smashed and replaced with a "porcelain plate", employers gained more power to decide how many and which workers to employ, while workers had more freedom of job choice.

These practices have had a great impact on the Chinese workforce. The majority, especially the young workers, look forward to career improvement and greater job mobility. The change of policy has not only given them new hope, but also ignited a strong motivation to learn and get ahead. Some studies show that many young workers are studying in order to get better jobs or to advance in their present positions. New learning related to careers has become a high-priority need, and education has been regarded as the best way to achieve the goal.[5]

Although people now see more freedom in employment, job mobility is still limited. On the one hand, most of the Chinese cities are facing the problem of unemployment; on the other hand, employers usually require skilled workers or those who have specialized knowledge. Many smaller enterprises offer higher pay and better working and living conditions to attract 'talented people'. The Beijing Employment Agency, which is the first of its kind in the country, started operation in 1984. The agency sponsors job fairs where registered applicants go to fill out forms and meet prospective employers. There are various reasons for people's desire to change their jobs. The following are some of them:

1) To aspire to a more challenging and exciting job,

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[5] Interview with Li Li, Deputy Chairman of Research, Shanghai Adult Education Society, on June 9, 1987.

2) To seek a job more suited to one's interest,

3) To change one's working environment and get to know new people,

4) To seek a job that is less demanding,

5) To seek to open up a path to fame and wealth,

6) To try out one's skills and give full play to one's abilities,

7) To change career because of boredom with it.

While those who aspire to change employment are well motivated to learn technical know-how and to have their skills upgraded, they find it necessary to meet the required technical and educational level set by the enterprises. It was reported that one Shenzhen plant "sacked 100 workers in one go". To some degree, some factory directors have begun to resort to "sacking employees" as a way to improve efficiency (China Daily, Dec. 12, 1985).

5.2.2. "Qualified Personnel" Are Sought

The new emphasis put on the abilities of qualified personnel has shifted to a very broad category of people, as the Chinese government considers that there are still not enough personnel to meet the country's economic needs. In effect, all those with tertiary educational or vocational school training will be listed, and by virtue of their diplomas or certificates, classified as "qualified". With this title, these people are more likely to get professional advancement and wage increases. As a result, it is easier for them to move to enterprises which might confer status and some privileges to them.

In addition, the government has decided that qualified personnel must be able to move easily between units. Under this channel, some special companies such as "Qualified Personnel Bank", "Scientific and Technological Development and Exchange Centre", "Qualified Personnel Service Company" have been formed. The idea is to make known the skills and talents of potential employees who are available and to redistribute them according to the employers' requirements. One such center in Shanghai has been

used as a model. It was founded in April 1984 and within a little over eight months, it had given 11,400 consultations, registered 4,600 genuine requests for transfer, received about 20,000 requests from factories and enterprises for qualified personnel, and completed the transfer of 346 people.[6] With a view to achieving their goals, hundreds and thousands of workers are enrolled in various kinds of training courses to upgrade their skills and raise their educational levels.

It was reported that a public opinion poll conducted in Changsha, the capital city of Hunan province, claimed that "the young people are more interested in education than dating or making money in their spare time" (China Daily, Dec. 23, 1985). With the stress on knowledge and skill, educational background is also an increasingly important criterion among young people selecting mates. A survey of 400 single young women in Nanking, Jiangsu province revealed that 152 of them "wanted their future husband to be university or technical school graduates," and 226 hoped that their boyfriends would be "competent and serious students who could help and compete with their girlfriends in learning" (China Daily, May 4, 1985). It was also reported that a pretty and well-educated girl in Shandong province had chosen a "knowledgeable husband" by holding an "open examination". There were quite a few entrants and a young man who averaged 94 marks on each test subject was selected (China Daily, Dec. 28, 1985). This novel system of courtship sounds ridiculous, but it shows that knowledge and education are valued in Chinese society today.[7]

5.2.3. New Requirements in Rural Areas

The educational motivation of the rural residents, in some sense, is even stronger than that in urban area, for the structural changes of rural economic development since 1978 are further reaching than that in any other section of the country. The three main

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[6] Shanghai: Wen Hui Daily, January 19, 1985.

[7] These news and poll results were obtained from the writer's talk with Mr. Shen Jin-rong, of Adult Education Institute in Shanghai East China Normal University.

changes in rural economic reformation on the work point system (from highly collective economic accounting system to production contracts system), the adjustment of the rural economic structure (change from self-sufficient into a modern economy), and the shift of the labour force all require peasants to learn what they did not have to know before in order to adapt to the new conditions. The present policy links peasants' income directly with the amount of their productive output and it challenges the "commercial peasants" to focus their eyes and ears on the market of supply-demand information. Those peasants who have shifted to non-agricultural production desperately need to acquire knowledge of scientific methodology and techniques.

All those societal and situational factors enumerated above have been thought to have motivational effects on the adult learners' involvement. Besides, it is also the mobilization of the national will that has made adult education develop with such speed and vigor. The massive efforts are shown in several aspects.

First, China has created a strong bureaucratic organization, which not only penetrates from the high to low levels through the party and governmental administrations, but also spreads horizontally through mass organizations such as the trade unions, women's federations, youth leagues and mass media. It is a broadly based and participatory organizational mode that serves the double functions of promoting communication, and serving as a mechanism for exercising political social control. Second, coordinating committees at province, city and country levels are organized and required to coordinate work and to plan education programs across bureaus of various ministries.

And third, all levels of administrators are enlightened about the fact that workforce education is closely related to productivity, and to increase productivity they must encourage and support adult education. Wall posters, public meetings, and other media are used to motivate potential participants to take advantage of available programs. The mass

campaign approaches (i.e. health, family planning, correspondence and self-education) are also frequently adapted to promote mass participation.

5.3. A Motivational Survey and Analysis on Participation in Adult Higher Education[8]

The following is a survey analysis which was conducted by the Northeast Institute of Administration in Dalian, China in 1984. Although the field research was still in a rudimentary stage, it was expected that the findings from the systematic inquiries into the sociological and psychological influence to adult learners obviously have important implications for educational practices in China.

Problem Statement

The scale of adult higher education has expanded significantly in the period of the Sixth Five-year Plan (1981-1985). It has stimulated research on andragogy, and basic theories of adult education. However, all these studies are mostly on the role of the teachers. Yet, what is the driving force behind the learners? What criteria are their decisions based on? How is self-concept related to motivation? All of these issues which are the key ingredients in the learning process did not receive much attention in Chinese social science circles until the beginning of the 1980s.

Methodology

1. Research Objectives

The survey was conducted among the 240 students in the employee higher education institutes including an administrative institute, an adult evening college, a university correspondence school and a staff college. Among the respondents, 123 of them were administrators and technicians of various levels and fields, amounting to 51.2 percent of the sampling population; 117 of them were workers, accounting for 48.8

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[8] The survey report was provided to the writer by Adult Education Institute of East China Normal University in Shanghai during the writer's field research trip in May 1987. It is translated from Chinese by the writer.

percent; 43.6 percent of the whole population had more than five years work experience, while 56.4 percent had worked less than five years; and 8.1 percent of the respondents paid tuition fees by themselves. Since the respondents were from different fields and enterprises with various professional and social backgrounds, the feedback which was produced should be fairly representative.

2. Method of Survey Conduction

Questionnaires were used as the measurement means in the survey. Twenty statements of the incentives and barriers to the assessment of adult higher education programs were included under the four categories of social, vocational, domestic and personal elements (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1

Questionnaire: Incentives and Barriers to Your Involvement in the Program

Name _____
Institute _____
Program _____

NOTICE: 1=strongly agree; 2=agree; 3=neither agree nor disagree;
4=disagree; 5=strongly disagree

1. Societal learning atmosphere has aroused my interest to join the program.
   1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
2. Join the program mainly because of the influence from your group members.
   1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
3. Join the program for getting along with girl/boy friend.
   1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
4. Family and relatives strongly support my joining the program.
   1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
5. Join the program pushed by my family with the intellectual background.
   1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
6. Strongly determined to join the program despite family opposition.
   1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
7. Join the program due to the need of the current job.
   1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
8. unable to join the program because of the tight work schedule.
   1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
9. Enter the program for promotion.
   1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
10. Join the program for educational qualification, diploma or certificate.
    1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
11. As long as the job position is satisfactory, it doesn't matter whether you enrolled in the program or not.
    1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
12. Not join the program since there are no specific attractive subjects.
    1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

(table 5.1 continued)

13. Join the program for job change.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

14. Join the program for your particular interest in some subjects.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

15. Unable to join the program because of your weak educational background.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

16. More enthusiastic about joining the program than enjoying your work.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

17. Domestic conditions make the study impossible.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

18. Regard getting further education as an enjoyment of life.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

19. Want to enhance working competence but not through joining the general higher education program.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

20. Devote to further study in spite of any unfavorable outside interference.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

The Analysis and Comparison of the Survey Feedback

1. The results obtained

A five scale score is used for each question so that the whole score of the questionnaire can be from 20 to 100, and the midpoint is 60. The statistic processing on the 240 returned questionnaires shows that scores of both the worker group and the cadre group are higher than the midpoint with the average score of 77.43 and 76.22 for each group, which indicates that most of the attendants in the adult higher education program are actively motivated.

Meanwhile three main reasons for the active involvement were discovered during the analysis. 1) There is a need for social change and societal development; 2) Adult higher education can be the means to satisfy personal educational needs; 3) More and more people are aroused to better understand modern scientific knowledge.

2. Scale distribution of the participants' motivation

The survey shows that two thirds of the participants are highly motivated for they have set a high value on the meaning and results of the higher educational programs. At the same time, one phenomenon which should be noticed is that the administrative and teaching methods in the adult educational institutions along with the environment of the study could significantly influence the motivation of the participants The reason is that adults have a strong sense of self-respect and judging ability. The students consider that three points are vital to run the adult higher programs effectively: 1) suitable teaching material, 2) appropriate teaching methodology and 3) a feasible educational administrative system.

The survey also indicates that the attitude of the students' working units has a big influence on the program participants. The students can be more actively involved if their work units provided a supportive environment; conversely, the negative factors would be caused to those employees who are involved in the programs. As a matter of fact, this is

one of the major barriers existing especially in the adult higher educational program sector. This issue is to be mentioned in the following chapter.

Comparing the scores of the workers' group and the cadres' group, no significant differences could be discovered in terms of their motivation, although the respondents' working areas and positions, even the social economic status are varied, However, the incentives to join the higher educational programs are similar.

Nevertheless, the obvious differences have been observed when comparing the scores from the different age groups. The ages of the whole sampling population of this survey were varied from 22 to 45, but 82 percent of them were between 25 to 35. The groups were divided as follows: group one: 22-30; group two: 31-40; group three: 41-45.

The analysis results showed that 90 percent of the members of group one are actively motivated; and the percentages of group two and group three were 70 percent and 34 percent respectively.

3. The Main Factors of the Motivation

The following factors are functioning as the "balance weight" in the formation of adult learner's motivation:

1) The position of adult higher institutions and their recognition from the society;

2) Learners' concern about the content of the higher education programs;

3) Knowledge and skills requirements at workplace;

4) Coherence between education attainment and income;

5) Betterment of the family conditions especially on children's education;

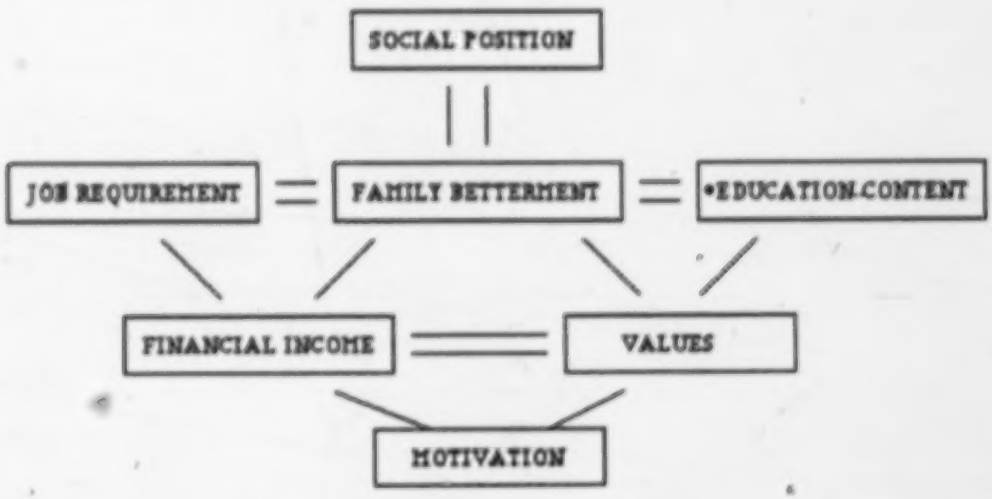
6) Personal values.

The correlation of each factor is indicated in the graph, from which , it could be observed that the correlation between factor 1 and factor 4, factor 4 and factor 5 were highly significant; meanwhile factor 2 and factor 3, factor 3 and factor 6, as well as factor 5 and factor 6 are obviously correlated.(see graph)

1	1					
2	--	2				
3	--	*	3			
4	**	--	--	4		
5	--	--	--	**	5	
6	--	--	*	--	*	6

** P < 0.01 * P ≥ 0.05

According to the interrelationship of the each factor shown above, the procedure of producing the motivation for the adult higher educational program participants could be elaborated with the following figure:



4. Conclusion

First, the survey showed that at the present stage, about two thirds of the adult higher educational participants are actively motivated, however, the other one third, for one reason or another, are still in a passive stage. It is a very important research subject to discover how to change the passively motivated to become actively motivated for this issue directly influences the development of adult higher education.

Second, the varieties of the programs, the practicability of the course design and feasibility of adult teaching and learning methods have a particular strong influence on the formation of the participants' motivation.

Third, adult higher education requires more support from the society, family and enterprises, especially direct support from the participant's work unit which was a crucial factor in making the study possible.

5.4 A Brief Comparison with Other Cultures

Houle, in his analysis of motivation contends that "people's motives for participating in an organized learning experience are numerous and overlapping."[9] In the most comprehensive and scientific national survey of participation in adult education, Johnstone and Rivera discovered that in the United States, the main motives were as follows: a) to become better informed; b) to prepare for a new job; c) to obtain on-the-job training; d) to spend leisure time in an enjoyable and rewarding way; e) to meet new and interesting people; f) to become more efficient in carrying out tasks and duties either at home or elsewhere; g) to escape from routine; h) to improve and understand job,home or family life roles; i) to improve skills; j) to increase general knowledge; k) to increase income; and l) to develop personality and to improve inter-personal relations.[10]

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9 For an acute analysis of motivation, see C.O. Houle, Motivation and Participation with special reference to non-traditional forms of study, pp. 8-34, Paris: OECD, 1979.

10 Johnston, J.W.C. & Rivera R.J. Volunteers for Learning: Chicago: Aldine, 1965, p. 143.

This list of motives is more or less similar to lists completed in different societies throughout the world. The motives can be grouped under three main categories: 1) vocational, 2) personal development, and 3) social relationship (Lowe, 1982: 57). Furthermore, it is necessary to be able to distinguish between different forms of adult education as a basis for common understanding. Three categories are suggested as helpful for this purpose:

1) Fundamental or basic education;
2) Work-related or updating education;
3) Discretionary education.

These forms can be differentiated by goals and assumptions, primary focus, participants, administration or sponsorship, and approach or methodology. In most nations, all three forms exist simultaneously. The degree of priority depends upon social and economic factors among others.

In China's case, adult education has developed under the circumstances of a backward culture and it had to meet the needs of rapidly developing productive forces. Therefore, the emphasis should be on the first two categories. But beginning from the last decade, it has differed from the first upsurge in the respect that illiteracy elimination is no longer the focal point of the work, and is now replaced by balanced development of adult education of all types and at all levels.

Research seems to suggest that most participants are motivated on an "instrumental" level rather than on an "integrative" level. In the other words, the learners regard learning as a means to achieve their social and economic status rather than involving themselves for the intrinsic consciousness of learning. Undoubtedly, the participants have high respect for education and they are purposeful in their educational pursuit. They are committed to learning in that it is a mission, an obligation. It is in this respect that it denotes a strong sense of social conscience.

Nevertheless, with the requirements of technology for raising the educational level of the nation, new changes are taking place in adult education in the targets and forms of organization, content, teaching methods, and in other ways. Problems in adult education in China including the motivational study that need to be explored are daily more closely approximating those in technically advanced and culturally developed countries.

CHAPTER VI. PROBLEMS AND REFORM ISSUES IN THE FIELD OF ADULT EDUCATION IN CHINA

Although China's education on the whole, has made great advances after the 'cultural revolution', the nation's educational setting is yet far from serving the needs of economic development. In comparison with the other nations in the world, China's average education attainment for the population, is still on the low side. The adult education sector, which is to upgrade the nation's educational attainment, has its particular problems and reform issues which require attention. In the light of what has been brought out in this study, the writer made three recommendations for the further improvement of adult education in China.

6.1 Six Major Existing Problems in the Process of Adult Education

1. Inactive theoretical research on adult education

China has gathered a vast pool of experience for its long practice in the field of adult education. Unlike the situation in Western countries, however, the study of the field as a discipline at universities remains largely unexplored. Most adult educators know little about the philosophical, cultural, economical and social foundations of the practice. Although quite a few institutions have set up research units in recent years, and have started scholarly enquiry into the field , by publishing journals, holding research conferences, and developing more adequate materials for adult learners, these efforts are, on the whole, small in scale. Serious endeavors are needed to develop a framework of theory to guide practice and to make research part of a long-range strategy so that the whole system can work more effectively.

2. Inadequate training of teachers

It is a conspicuous problem that teachers engaged in teaching adults lack training in andragogy which is the "art and science of helping adults learn" (Darkenwald & Merriam, 1982: 13). For several years adult education instructors have been mainly composed of: a) technicians and engineers of industrial or business enterprises; b) people from other administrative areas; c) teachers of various formal school systems; d) teachers and administrators who have long engaged in vocational education. Although this professional group has played an important role in the development of adult education in China, there are serious limitations. First, most of the practitioners lack experience in adult education and adult instruction; second, many do not have an extensive professional background and lack the understanding of the nature, status, function and characteristics of adult education. Third, a great majority of instructors have never studied the psychology of adult teaching and learning or the fundamentals of the administrative theory in adult education. Despite the fact that some teachers have worked in adult education for many years, their knowledge is obsolete and can hardly meet the requirements of proficiency in their practice of adult education. Confronted with the large scale of social reform and technological innovation, teachers and administrators in the field of adult education must reconstruct their reservoir of knowledge and update it so that they can adapt to the increasing educational need and demand.

3. Improper system of enrollment.

There are some special advantages and disadvantages for adult students. They have broad social experiences, and tend to be analytical. They have relatively stronger motivation for learning as well as better comprehensive and expressive capability. On the other hand, they are usually loaded with work and family burdens. Some of them, suffer from the degeneration of prompt memory. Therefore, the present multi-subject sit-in entrance examination system is obviously an inappropriate way to enroll adults.

4. The 'work - study conflict' .

The conflict is, in some degree, produced by the present enrollment system. Most adult education institutes, especially the tertiary level ones, require the permission from the applicant's working units before allowing him or her to write the entrance examinations. This permission is often rejected by the working unit under the pretence of being "unrelated to job requirement" or "production goes first (study, inferior)". A number of potential learners are thus barred from entering the adult education institutes.

5. Inadequate finance and facilities.

There are also defects in the present set of finance and personnel provision in adult education system. On the one hand, little attention is paid to the different needs of different specialities. For instance, each adult student is now provided the same training funds no matter what major he is in. On the other hand, many efforts in the adult education system are handicapped due to the lack of facilities and resources. Not many instructional sites have videotaping or other modern teaching media. Laboratory and library facilities are often less than adequate. Students can hardly get access to sufficient reference materials for their further private study. In Shanghai, a city with a population of twelve million, the municipal library has only very limited seats. As a result, people have to stand for hours in the early morning before the library opens and rush to get a number for a seat.

There is an urgent need for more resources. Teaching and learning would be more effective with better facilities. Both government and other enterprises have to share the responsibilities and make more investments in adult education.

6. Uneven distribution of adult higher education

The unequal geographical distribution of adult and higher education programmes prevents people in the hinterland from joining educational activities. Although the issue has caught the government's attention since 1950s, the situation has hardly been effectively improved. Up until 1985, there were only 13% of the tertiary institutions in the

provinces of Inner-Mongolia, Guangxi, Guizhou, Yunnan, Tibet, Gansu, Qinghai, Ningxia, Xingjiang which comprise 63% of the whole territory of the country. On the other hand, 64% of the higher institutions were located in the coastal areas such like Shanghai, Beijing, Hebei, Liaoning, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Fujian,Guangdong, and Shandong which covers 11.4% of the whole territory (Xi, 1987: 6). The inequality of educational opportunities offered to people in different areas is obvious.

Another serious social problem in adult higher education should be divided into two sections. In the rural areas, peasant education has been largely promoted since 1978 by setting up programs at all levels, from literacy education to tertiary special technical courses to meet the need for 'scientific farming' in the rural economic reform period. Meanwhile, under the established 'household contract' system, the demand for man power has caused an increasing dropout rate of primary and secondary school youngsters. It becomes an alarming signal of the increase of rural illiterates in the near future.

In the urban areas, on the other hand, a considerable number of young employees try to "jump the ladder" to become cadres by means of going to adult higher institutions. There are "thousands of horses and soldiers across the single-log bridge"---to enter adult higher institutions . This shows the symptom of being infected with diploma disease, which, as Dore states, suggests that the objective of learning has been replaced by the acquisition of certificates.The major focus of learning in the 'qualification-oriented' schooling is not to learn but to get a certificate which is a passport to a coveted job, status, and better income.[1]

The central point of these issues is that the present education system does not dovetail with societal and economic development. As a result, it could hardly meet the needs of the social reform or cope with the side-effect caused in the present transitional period. How to

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1. Ronald Dore, The Diploma Disease: Education Qualification and Development Chapter I, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 1976

solve the above problems becomes an unavoidable challenge to the government as well as the educational policy makers.

6.2. The Constraints on High Priority Reform Issues

"Education must serve socialist construction, and socialist construction, in turn, must rely on education." This was the core theme of China's National Educational Work Conference held in May 1985, during which the "Decision on the Reform of the Education" was issued. The leading body has given a clear signal that education has been assigned a high priority in the country's drive toward modernization and economic development. On the one hand, adult education as a vital means of improve the competence of the workforce, has made great advances in the past few years. Much has been accomplished with limited resources. On the other hand, there are a number of constraints which the existing system of adult education may place on the implementation of the policy options and guiding principles. Among these constraints, the research on the theoretical base of the adult educational practice and adult instructor's training and upgrading particularly need to be strengthened during the education reform.

As elaborated in chapter four, the nature of adult education in China is very much 'social centered' for it is claimed that the purposes of reformation and development of adult education is to propel social change and increase the productive forces. It is true that in the sociology of adult and continuing education, 'societal oriented' versus 'individual oriented' is a long standing distinction. However, it is also believed that these two are not absolutely incompatible. The effective education strategy is to make them complement each other.

According to the concept of andragogy, the objective of all adult education is held to be enrichment --- the process by which adults attempt to enrich their lives through learning. To enrich people's lives means to help them to achieve better informed and more cultured minds, development of their powers of self-expression and creativity, and more effectively reasoned opinions. (Tyler, 1984:4)

It is true that to modernize the country, the liberation of manpower and increase of productive force are fundamental elements. A government document "On reformation and development of adult education" issued at the National Adult Education Conference in December 1986, emphasized "Improving the working competence should be the major purpose of China's adult education." The tasks listed in the document were to urge the whole society to participate in adult education ; to reform adult education along with the country's general reform system; and to encourage the workforce to become involved in sparetime and self studies. As a guiding document on national adult education, there are several fundamental issues which will be discussed in the following three sections.

6.2.1. The rational role and function of adult education in China's national constructions

Although China has accomplished steady growth in its national economy since 1950, the growth of the output value was mainly achieved by means of focusing on capital investment, at the expense of the popular education of workforce. This resulted in the slow steps of technological innovation. It was reported that among the increase of the output value from 1949 to 1979 in Shanghai textile industry (one of the best developed industrial fields in China), only 30.13 percent of it was due to technological innovation. With regard to the whole national industrial enterprises from 1952 to 1980, only 15.8 percent of the total increasing output value was through technological improvement. [2]

These figures well reflected the government's negligence of the role and function of education in the national reconstruction for all those years. Referring to the relationship between education and economic production, a Western scholar claimed that investment in education and research would be three times as profitable as investment in real capital (Duke, 1987: 178). Not only was investment in human resources seen to lead to economic

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2 . Xi Huan-yu, "Education and Social, Economic Development in China" Education Science No.3, 1987, p.5
Beijing: Central Research Institute of Education Science

development, it was also expected to adapt to structural changes in the labour market and meet the need for better educated manpower.

6.2.2. The criteria of adult education research

Despite the long history of adult educational practice in China, its experience in adult education research is weaker in comparison with other countries. Most of the researchers have not had enough training in research. The number of full-time researchers is limited. Nonetheless, adult education research per se would have little meaning or relevance unless it was related to the complexities and diversities of the reality in China, especially to work situations and economic development.

As well, China still lacks a national, systematic organization for publications in the field of adult education. Statistical data are scarce. These limitations prove to be a disadvantage to field research and theoretical study. However, Chinese national adult organizations have started addressing the problems such as: Who should be doing the research? How should research be coordinated? Should national research centers, link teaching with research, or involve only research? In this regard, the participants of Shanghai International Adult Education Symposium all contented with the following exposition that:

> *"Research should be concerned with decision-making with regard to resource allocation and utilization, planning and programming, cost-benefits, and in terms of the special needs and characteristics of the learning population. In this context it could be nationally coordinated at the center and carried out by appropriate support research institutions including universities, and duplicated in the provinces with the lowest level of research going down to the grass-root levels (Duke, 1987: 86).*

6.2.3. The new concept of adult instructor

a. <u>The changing meaning of 'educator'</u>

There is little doubt that we are, at the moment, in a transitional stage in our conceptualization of the role of the teacher and teaching, and that implications of lifelong

education for teachers will shift our understanding of the word 'teacher' in many ways from the traditional teaching role.

The paper on the teacher's role prepared by the teachers' associations for the 1975 International Conference expressed succinctly the changing approach to learning:

> *"The teacher remains the central figure in education but he has to take into consideration that he is no more the only source of information, that mass media etc. are strong competitors, that some students may be better informed than he is in some special field of knowledge. He is no more an unquestioned authority, he becomes a guide helping his people to develop their capacities and abilities, fulfill their aspirations, remaining himself capable of learning, capable of self-criticism, capable of keeping steady and close personal contact with his students."* [3]

It is expected that the educator of the future will have to be much less of a repository of knowledge than the teacher is at present. Thus a knowledge of culture and society is a central concern of educators of all kinds. Rather than providing the knowledge to a given learner or group, he should understand how knowledge originates in society, what paradigms or disciplines have been generated to cope with it, and where the source is available. In short, he is a facilitator, a guide.

b.The Directions of Change in Educator Activity

An OECD report has attempted to identify the directions of change in what it calls the teaching-learning process. Although this examination is mainly concerned with developed industrial countries, much of its analysis applies to other countries as well. The report summarizes the changes as follows:

--- *a movement away from standardized procedures for the transmission of knowledge, except for basic skills;*

--- *greater emphasis on expertise in the organization of learning contexts;*

--- *acquisition of skills for further learning;*

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3 . The position paper from the International Teacher Organizations, "The Changing Role of the Teacher and Its Influence on the Preparation for the Professional and In-service Training" presented in Geneva at the 35th International Conference on Education, August/September 1975, p.7.

--- increase in learner-initiated learning;

--- growing emphasis on monitoring and evaluation of learning.

(Lynch, 1977: 16-17)

Clearly, the traditional concept of education as an essentially terminal phenomenon fits badly with the need, as indicated in the above list, to continually learn and update knowledge. What is required is, instead, a concept of the learning process which can facilitate the acquisition of highly generalizable problem-solving strategies and social-effective capacities, such as values, attitudes, motives and emotions. They represent the major foci for the personal and professional competency that both a learner and an educator will require in the framework of lifelong education.

Another important factor, according to the observation of some researchers, is that the majority of full-time staff in adult education spend much of their time in organization and administration within the educational organization. Here lies the nub of the problem: the actual role of many of the full-time adult educators is not merely in teaching adults but also includes involvement in management. (Mee and Wiltshire, 1978: 64). The significant factor here is basically that if full-time adult education staff are not actually teachers of adults any longer, then they are managers. The management role is not the same as the teaching role. Therefore, one of the recommendations by the Haycocks Committee was that adult educators should receive training in management. (Jarvis, 1985: 230)

6.3. The References for the Later Improvement of Adult Education in China: Theories and Experiences from Other Cultures

6.3.1. View points on adult education research

There are a large number of viewpoints on adult education research. Some emphasize the practice and philosophy of adult education and what may be considered its distinctive aspects. Referring to the use of selected methods and examining the trends of research work within adult education, two of them -- experimental method and participatory research, merit particular attention as major references to research work in China.

A. Factors favouring use of the experimental method

Experimental research is a research method designed to test claims against evidence for the purpose of approximating reality or truth. The number of experimental studies in adult education has gradually risen since the late-seventies. This increase parallels developments occurring among the practitioners, as well as changes in adult educators' research competence. And the experimental method should prove more applicable to adult education research for several reasons.

First, the field has reached large proportions, requiring the testing of hypotheses. Some of the special subjects calling for examination include adult learning, instructional strategies and modes, delivery systems, and learner motives. The literature is replete with case analyses and descriptions of teaching techniques, measuring interactions among learning styles, methods and techniques, and learner motives.

The second factor is that the experimental method and theory formulation are closely related. According to Long, the experimental design is perhaps of greatest value when the investigator has developed a theory and wishes to validate it. If this perception is correct, efforts to develop theory in adult education should be followed by efforts to validate that theory. Thus, the advancement of a validated theoretical base in adult education requires the execution of experimental research. (Long, 1980: 197) The increased use of the experimental method in adult education has important implications for the theoretical development of the field.

B. Participatory Research: A new methodology for adult educators

At the International Planning Meeting of the Participatory Research Project in September, 1977, the representatives agreed that "participatory research means a change in the status of the powerless who formerly have been 'objects' of social science research."[4]

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4 . "*Participatory Research Planning Meeting Announcement*" 1977, p.7
quoted from John A. Niemi (Ed.) Viewpoints on Adult Education Research

Participatory research was further defined as a three-pronged activity: a method of social investigation involving the full participation of the community, an educational process, and a means of taking action for development. (Niemi, 1979: 24)

The identified distinctions between participatory research and other qualitative research is that the whole research process emphasizes the immediate and direct benefit to a community and is not merely the basis for academic report. The research is concerned with a specific problem, rather than theory generation, and has the primary purpose of obtaining a solution to a problem(see Table 6.1).

Hall further claims that a research process should be of some immediate direct benefit to a community and not merely the basis for an academic paper. Research of this nature could be seen as part of the total educational experience which serves to establish community needs, and increases awareness and commitment within the community.

In summary, participatory research offers a process that is more consistent with adult education principles, more directly linked to action because it produces a more complex and therefore more accurate picture of reality.

Ohio: ERIC, 1979.

Table 6.1

COMPARISON OF RESEARCH APPROACH

ISSUES/ACTIONS SURVEY RESEARCHES	PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH	MOST COMMON
Locus of choice of methods for gathering data	community	researcher
Methods of data gathering	* wide variety, including group meetings, use of videotape, seminars, workshops, surveys, use of drama and photographs; ** developmental and reformable; *** focus on collective response.	*some variety, but most often based on some form of survey; ** fairly static; *** focus on individual response.
Analysis and interpretation of data	emphasis on collective analysis and interpretation by those involved in the problem	individual analysis researcher sometimes with limited "feedback" from clients
Use of results	direct, planned for, and applied by the community	serendipitous, not usually an integral part of the process

Source: Niemi, John A. (Ed.) Viewpoints on Adult Education Research P.55
Ohio: ERIC, 1979

6.3.2. Program organization and coordination

Once the framework and development process have been established, organization and coordination of the program become the first priority. There are various perspectives on coordination and the relationship of a coordinated adult education program in planning for national development. The UNESCO perspective is obviously more influenced by the interests of the developing nations. Five objectives were identified by UNESCO as essential elements in the development of an adult education network in its 1976 General Conference on Adult Education:

> *(1) identify and anticipate educational needs capable of being satisfied through adult education programmes;*
> *(2) make full use of existing educational facilities and create such facilities as may be lacking to meet all defined objectives;*
> *(3) make the necessary long-term investments for the development of adult education: in particular for the professional education of planners, administrators, those who train educators, organizational and training personnel, the preparation of educational strategies and methods suitable for adults, the provision of capital facilities, the production and provision of the necessary basic equipment such as visual aids, apparatus, and technical media;*
> *(4) encourage exchanges of experience and compile and disseminate statistical and other information on the strategies, structures, content, methods, and results, both quantitative and qualitative, of adult education; and*
> *(5) abolish economic and social obstacles to participation in adult education, and to systematically bring the nature and form of adult education programmes to the attention of all potential beneficiaries, but especially to the most disadvantaged, by using such means as active canvassing by adult education institutions and voluntary organizations, to inform, counsel, and encourage possible and often hesitant participants in adult education. (UNESCO, 1976: 8)*

In building an effective adult education enterprise, it is presumed that if a coordinated system of adult education provision is to be developed, it will be necessary for governmental and non-governmental organizations as well as communities to devise mechanisms to achieve a coordinated approach. According to Griffith, it will most likely come about through legislation -- covering organizational principles as well as financial support. It is considered that the most important criterion for evaluating the usefulness of the coordinated provision of adult education services must be its indication in improving

both access to and participation in the widest range of learning opportunities for the adult population (Peters, 1980: 114).

6.4. Recommendations for Action of Present Reform of Adult Education in China

It seems justified to say that since 1978, continuing education in China has not only provided a second route, but also an alternative which deviates from the centrally planned job structure. As the bulk of continuing education students are still engaged in their studies, the real impact upon the labour system and the sociological implications remains to be seen.

However, adult education in China is still faced with many challenges and unsolved problems stemming from scarce resources, weak theoretical foundations and research base, the teachers' lack of special training in teaching adults, and other gaps and disparities. The following recommendations are hereby made for the future improvement.

Recommendation One: Research should precede general planning

There should be a wider understanding of the theory and practice of adult education. Adult education research, according to the previous information, is under tremendous transformation. As the concept of adult and lifelong education is a social process -- the crucial distinction being that social and educational processes are the product of human intention and consciousness. The research process, therefore, should involve the population in the entire research project from the formulation of the problem to the exploration of solutions and the interpretation of the findings (Hall, Convergence 1975: 29). Hence, adult educational reform should place enough awareness and emphasis on research regarding the following two aspects:

(1) *The criteria for adult education policy making*

Today, it is no longer desirable to undertake educational reforms in piecemeal fashion, without a concept of the totality of the goals and modes of the educational process. To find out how to reshape its component parts, one must have a vision of the whole. (Learning to Be p.75)

First, as China has altered its education guidelines in recent decades, the principle that "education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour" was replaced by a new educational policy which is more in keeping with the basic theme of socialist modernization and economic development. The policy making is, however, still lacking the strategic approach of problem centered devices, and attempting to making education more a national mission than a responsibility of the whole society. Insofar as an education system reflects the political, social, economic and spiritual aspects of the life of a nation, it should also be an important device for achieving the qualitative development of the individual social members. Therefore, a complete education policy should include all those aspects, as well as purely educational objectives. It has been suggested that "education not only reflects and adjusts to society" but, once formed, "it turns back upon it and acts upon it."[5]

Consequently, as for adult education is concerned, the writer considers it very important for government and society as a whole to help pave the way for the widest participation of individuals and groups in adult learning activities. Although it is true that the adult education, especially adult higher education section has more clientele than it can serve, attention must be given to the phenomenon of neglect or rejection of adult educational participation. The violent sabotage of education in the "Cultural Revolution"

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5 . Bernard Bailyn, Education in the Foundation of American Society New York: W.W. Norton & Co. p.48

has left a bitter legacy in China's educational history, nevertheless, the country can not afford another 'side effect of reform' on education at the present 'modernization movement'.[6] It is the policy makers' responsibility to provide the solution to encourage maximum education involvement rather than simply emphasize the importance of education in the modernization of the country.

Third, to ensure the further development of adult education, a long range plan is needed. The plan must take into consideration the tendencies and objectives for at least five to ten years from now, and must guard against a sudden expansion and retraction. The most essential element in planning the development of workforce education is the effective handling of the relations between need and demand, quantity and quality. For instance, along with the need to upgrade the work force to keep up with changes in technology and skills, there is also a need to raise people's consciousness of the social and conceptual developments that make science and technology outmoded every decade. As UNESCO pointed out:

> *In fact, the function of a policy is to translate extra-educational objectives into educational objectives, ensuring the transition from one to the other and dovetailing them. For such a massive Chinese adult education system with millions involved, the update effective research is preliminary. As Unesco pointed out "Any educational system according educational services to a passive population and any reform which fails to arouse active personal participation among the mass of learners can achieve at best only marginal success(Learning to Be P.222).*

(2) Dimensional Field Disciplinary Research

At the present stage, much of the material used in adult education in China comes from formal education. This needs to be changed, and adult education field research should

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6 . A recent study among the university students in three big cities in China seems to indicate another "education crisis". 85% of the university students preferred to work in profit-oriented enterprises after graduation rather than stay in non-profit-oriented institutions such as tertiary education institutions, research institutions or medical service units etc. for which offer much fewer material benefits. Beijing: Ren Min Re Bao (People's Daily) May 5, 1988.

be strengthened from practice-oriented to discipline or theory-oriented. This sort of research will bring direct benefit to the educational practice.

Five dimensions should be considered in addressing theories and methods of adult education research:

1) *The social-economic dimension,* especially socio-structural analysis and its development in relation to demography, social classes, social organization and institutions, etc. (witness recent social change indicators in China);

2) *the temporal dimension,* including the concept of 'social time', at both individual and group level;

3) *special topographical or ecological dimension,* -- administrative and territorial divisions, such as communes and districts;

4) activities of recent years with research as a *way of life* built into changing the organization of work, developing new social and productive roles and relationships, etc.; and

5) finally *social planning and perspectives* -- creating social, including educational processes relating to alternative choices for the development of the individual and society.

Such a framework was put forward at the ICAE Symposium in Shanghai, 1984, influenced and was influenced by all the elements of adult education systems. Other areas of need for research include systems of management, and utilization and rationalization of resources, as well as psychological aspects of adult learning which, at the time being, are vulnerable spots in the system. It is necessary to find ways of considering and coping with the total context of adult education in a particular society, as well as time and place, if the science of adult education is to generate useful research.

Recommendation Two: Teachers' Training, the crucial issue in adult education

There is no doubt that the biggest challenge facing adult education is how to mobilize and train sufficient professional personnel to discharge the multifarious tasks aimed at enabling adults to learn and to continue learning. In China, the teachers' training for adult education has remained limited in scope. In other words, 'andragogy', the science of learning and teaching of adults, is still unknown to most of the adult instructors , while in other nations, it has become very important in the realm of education. The conception of life-long education, demands a new approach to education, totally different from a traditional one. The training of adult educators is something more than a new approach to the methodology of adult education. As Styler elaborates:

> *It is implied that principles, in the sense of fundamental concepts relating to man, society, life and the world, making altogether a philosophy of life, are important. Without them, it is impossible to decide what is the better state at which we should aim, and this is essential to the idea of enrichment. All these matters are essential to the idea of enrichment. All these matters are essential elements in the training of adult educators, who should belong to a specialized profession (Styler, 1984: 4).*

To improve the quality of adult education teachers in China, at least three issues should be addressed to the action:

1) Even though the teaching personnel are chosen from the field of their specialty, some andragogical training should be required, especially for the instructors at the adult higher education level. It is a great misfortune for those who enter the program after going through intense competition to receive instruction from unqualified teachers.

2) There is also an urgent need to set up adult education programmes at a tertiary and graduate level, where students can be trained in the application of adult education principles and practice. Adult education in China requires professional leadership. At the same time, more effort is needed to establish a nationwide network to provide learning opportunities for those who teach adults at all levels, in order to promote the competence of the adult educators.

3) There is a lack of evaluation and measurement techniques in the adult education system. Establishing a constant evaluation system in the programs at all levels will, to a large degree, stimulate the awareness of teaching quality and teachers' training.

It is an undeniable fact that the old-fashioned notion that a person could rely all his life on one time education is obsolete. Teachers' lifelong study should be geared to updating their specialities. Because of the damage from the country's political movements, especially from the ten-year 'cultural revolution', much of what should have been done in teachers' training was not fulfilled. This sabotage resulted in a large number of teacherbeing underqualified. Given this, it will be impossible for teacher's education to accomplish its task if the present situation is not rectified.

Recommendation Three: The Mobilization of Involvement in Adult Education

Where adult education is discussed at the level of broad purposes, a common proposition is that such purposes divide into two broad categories: those related to personal advancement, and those related to social development. To make these two main purposes mutually compatible, and to set up a more effective adult education system in China, more efforts should be paid to mobilizing the involvement of social organizations and individuals simultaneously.

1) Social mobilization

Government organizations and economic enterprises need to play a more active role in adult education than merely being the campaign headquarters and financial sponsors. They need to contribute more to programme management and coordination within the educational institutions. They should involve themselves in the entire research project from the formulation of the problem to the discussion of how to seek solutions and the interpretation of the findings.

If, for example, research is being done on types of educational programmes to provide employment, then the research team would need to include cadres from the Labor Bureau, government officials as well as educators, so that the research process can be seen as part of a total educational experience which serves to meet needs and demands. Only with their participation, with "the whole society running education" could bring the real meaning instead of bureaucratic absurdity.

2) Individual mobilization

Individual mobilization may be seen as two aspects: the learners' motivation and the teachers' enhancement.

a. Learners' Motivation

The motivational survey displayed in the previous chapter showed that at the present stage about two thirds of adult higher education participants are actively motivated, while the other one third, for one reason or another, remains passive. Doubtless, it can be anticipated that people who are presently involved in the lower level of educational programmes and those who are out of the programmes even require more effort to be reached, assisted and motivated.

The issue is how to make education meet the needs of the learners, and in turn, to benefit them economically, socially and politically. In order to understand the major factors which have an impact on learners' characteristics, we must look at the cultural, political and social components of the Chinese society.

The impact the three major elements have on each other is very complex. Here the cultural aspect may be seen as a relatively traditional force, whereas the political structure imposes a more contemporary influence. The social impact can be viewed as a combination of the two.

Regarding to the cultural approach, the value system in Chinese society by and large revolves around the teaching of Confucius. According to Confucius, education is a life-

long endeavor. Education encompasses social, political, ethical and moral teachings. Hence, the academic role is highly valued. Confucius also advocated group solidarity, kinship system and the idea of individual sacrifice or compromise to sustain the social institution. Even in this day and age, most of these values are still evident among most Chinese students, especially adult students.

With regard to the political features, under the leadership of the Communist Party, China has experienced tremendous political change. Most Chinese people are of an authority-adherence type. The traditional Chinese view has called upon people to sacrifice themselves for the sake of their family. Mao exemplified such a value to the extent that 'the state comes before the individual'. Mao's idea is to be a new "socialist man". Therefore, the students should view education as a tool for social and political change rather than for personal gain.

However, when the country entered the "second modernization revolution"--- to catch up with the advanced countries in 1979, that has also created a significant impact on people's value as a "human being" rather than "social being". The process of modernization is a severe test to the quality of the social being. As a result of modernization, the Chinese people -- especially the younger generation -- have started pursuing more democratic ideology, individual advancement and economic benefit. Consequently, in terms of the social structure, it is recognized that in the past, drugged by political propaganda, people confused socialism with egalitarianism. This confusion seriously distorted actual socialist distribution relations, directly affected the enthusiasm of individuals and inhibited the people's efforts to work hard. The negative consequences the confusion has brought to China's economic development are not merely quantitative. No wonder people began to realize that only after the traditional structure had been removed could China's economy find its way, and egalitarianism became the first object of attacks

by economic theoreticians. The earliest problem to be discussed was the resumption of socialist principle of distribution according to work.[7]

The above social consequence will significantly influence people's motivation to update their work adequacy by means of education and training programmes. On the other hand, with the increasing awareness of the individual advancement is, to a large degree, to accelerate social development. The writer believes that more learners are going to go from 'instrumental motivated' to 'integrative motivated' which will lead to more satisfactory results for students.

b. The adult educator's enhancement

It is equally important that a large contingent of adult educators and administrators be developed to improve the quality of adult education in China.

Presently, only 3-5 percent of the total of adult educators are full-time workers. All the rest are part-time workers who are primarily instructors in universities and colleges, senior teachers of high schools, retired teachers, and engineers and retired professionals from the industrial enterprises with rich practical experience. However, this composition has produced a problem of 'belonging". Most of them come to do 'knowledge transfer', but are not really involved in adult education. Therefore, if the adult education institutions want to meet the demand and objectives of education, more full-time workers and administrators who are familiar with the characteristics of the discipline, proficient in professional work and who are more attentively aware of their responsibilities, are urgently required.

Nevertheless, as a preliminary condition to improve the quality of adult educators, their social and economic status should be enhanced. They need to be treated the same as other professionals in terms of promotion, salary raises and welfare rewards, and offered

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7 . Lin Guo Guang, "Developing Marxist Economic Theory in the Practice of Reform" Social Science in China Spring 1988, p.56

professional titles according to the same standards of the regular school system. In addition, government should try every means to remove the shadow of "second class citizen" from teachers. This issue needs to be addressed by reformers in the building of a contingent of adult teachers and administrators. Otherwise, adult education will continue to be perceived as "second class education" with undesirable social consequences.

Sobel contends that the expectation of economic benefits, anticipated in the human approach was not the sole rationale for expansion of educational services. Broad societal goals -- such as the desire for upward mobility, greater income equality and improvements in living standards -- that underlay the advocacy of the human capital theory, were far more decisive determinants for the expansion of the educational system in the developing economies.[8] The popularized notion of 'more education, higher incomes' had also led to the expectation of a subsequent route to upper social status for individuals and the hope of a narrowing of social disparities.

The author particularly agrees with Bacchus' argument that unless there is massive structural transformation in the reward system of those less developed societies, non-formal education will never be fully accepted by the general populace and will remain no more than a peripheral activity in the field of education (Bacchus, 1979: 87).

6.5. Conclusion

Despite the phenomenal growth of adult education in China in the past decade, a comprehensive system of educational research and practice is far from being established. In this chapter, six major problems existing in the field of adult education have veen outlined, and some high priority reform issues in both theoretical and practical aspects, for the purpose of improving adult education in China, have been identified.

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8 . Sobel, I. "The Human Capital Revolution in Economic Development" in R. Amove & G. Kelly (Ed.) Comparative Education New York: MacMillan, 1978

It was shown that before analyzing educational reform in China, one must be clearly aware that the existing education system (or traditional education) is an integral part of the traditional culture. It underwent a process of formation and development and for centuries was influenced by the nation's politics, economy and culture. Therefore, it is easier to change the educational system than to reform educational ideas. The imperial examination system, for instance, has disappeared in China as a system, its educational ideas are, however, still influential. This demonstrates how formidable the task of the reform is, and why a change in educational ideas should be stressed in the current educational reform.

Adult education, as a new role in the new historical period, should be understood in the context of the major social, economic and cultural changes that occurred. Adult education requires the same effort for its systematic reform and improvement as the regular education section.

There are three issues in the present adult education system which particularly need emphasis. First, theoretical research in adult education, with its special importance in policy making, should be strengthened in order to establish an effective adult education enterprise to meet the educational needs and demands of the society.

Second, the quality of teaching in adult education and parity of standards need to be guaranteed. Gradual formalization of quality is not to adopt the model of regular education, but with the special training in adult education discipline;

Finally, the notion of 'lifelong education' should be entrenched in China's education policy, in order to catch up with the modern social and scientific development. The nation is experiencing the significant transition of educational ideas. Hence, lifelong education is the movement to improve the quality of life for all through the learning of each -- a must be a transition to modern society.

CHAPTER VII. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Although adult education is not a new discipline in China, it did not become an indispensible part of the country's educational system until 1978, the beginning of the modernization movement after the official ending of the ten-year 'cultural revolution'.

The current Chinese adult education system, in terms of its nature and content, was formulated and expanded in accordance with the demands of the country's modernization drive and particularly, economic reform and reconstruction. The present education system reflects indeed a case of 'walking on two legs', and there is no doubt about the size and strength of the second 'leg' -- adult education.

The discussions in the previous chapters have painted with broad strokes a picture of adult education in China's social and political-economic context. The writer has elaborated the correlational linkage between the country's ongoing 'Four Modernizations Movement' and the rapid adult educational development during the post-Mao period from 1978 - 1986. The expansion of adult education in this period was found to be highly correlated with China's general social reforms after the 'cultural revolution'. The emergence of adult education boom is posed by the modernization movement and in turn, it serves as the catalyst for national development.

It has been shown clearly that there is a strong political purpose and will in China. Its current focus is to modernize the country and to use adult education as compensation for the educational impairment suffered in the 'cultural revolution', and as a tool in the service of modernization. This may explain why adult education enjoys full support from the highest levels of the government and state.

In addition, it is also the author's intention to make the Chinese adult education circle aware of the updated developments of adult education worldwide by introducing and recommending those current theories and practices in the field of adult education which may serve as references to the further development of adult education in China.

The literature review of the thesis shows that from the global view, adult education has, during the past three decades, experienced tremendous development in terms of conceptual and practice processes. Referring to the current conceptions and goals of adult education, it is assumed to be different from universal primary education insofar as it is concerned with the minimum learning needs of a specially identified group, particularly in Third World countries. It tends to transcend the hierarchy of the educational system and is provided in various forms in different countries, both through non-formal and formal means.

The range of aims and goals of adult education activities may include developing positive attitudes towards cooperation, work, community and national development and further learning; from providing a scientific outlook toward health, agriculture and the like, to incorporating functional knowledge and skills; from preparing individuals to enter the labour market or strengthening their current occupational position, and to making available functional knowledge and skills necessary for civic participation (Coombs, et al 1973).

A sensitive issue in the field of adult education is the contribution of adult education to development. 'Development' or 'modernization' has been defined in more than purely economic to encompass in a more comprehensive way the quality of social conditions. 'Development' and 'modernization' are terms which refer generally to social-cultural processes and economic growth processes perspectively (Berger and Kellner, 1974). And both of them involve highly bureaucratic and technological structures which carry with them profound implications for consciousness (Jones, 1984). The process of modernization is considered as being composed of three sectors: namely economic, political and social development (Johnson, 1970).

In this sense, although adult education will continue to be a high priority in the allocation of economic resources, a very important function of adult education is to arouse the consciousness of all groups of people with the aim to develop a critical understanding

of major contemporary problems and social changes as well as the ability to play an active part in the process of society with a view to achieving social justice.

With regard to the Chinese perception of development, it is clear that China's intention to embark on its own style of modernization results from an explicit economic orientation. The notion of 'four modernization' is the adoption of up-to date practices in the four key areas -- agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology, with a target of quadrupling the value of gross national industrial and agricultural production by the end of the century. Through the theoretical review of this study, one could easily remark that China's current modernization theory of the "primary stage of socialism" embraced by the present leadership, and the "open door policy" which serves as a symbol to the new modernization era, are, with no exception, to pave the way for China's economic ascendancy.

Under these circumstances, adult education enterprises, to a large extent, should follow the country's economic reform and development pace. The fact is that at the present stage, adult education is much more an economic than a social service. Consequently, the discipline of adult education is a means for relieving the shortage of domestic skilled manpower, and its formation remains in the conventional mode of institutionalized, remedial education oriented programs.

It should also be pointed out that unlike the other Third World and colonial-based countries, China's social economic mechanism has its unique characteristics. With a politically mono-party dictatorship, economically central planned national production and market, conventionally a highly independent and self-reliant society, the present social and economic reforms have shown no indication for the social structural alternation despite the fact that the ongoing economic reforms could bring about changes in other sectors which few people could predict. On the other hand, the reform shows positively, along with the country's modernization drive, that educational expansion is to contribute to economic development by acting as a device for selecting the more able individuals and thereby

enhancing their social and occupation mobility, that is, the tendency for people to respond positively to a rise in the rate of reward for their efforts(Torres, 1987:9). Since the role of State in education and income policy is a crucial variable in determining productive and income distribution, in this sense, China, with centralization of state power for all these years, will involve every means to expand its human and physical capital to develop its economy. Thus, the educational crisis in Third World countries indicated by Coombs -- excess of manpower, educated unemployment, enlargement of social gap, and so on, does not seem to be the real crisis in the case of China. Whether it will be a latent crisis remains to be seen. But rather, the issue of "manpower sunken"-- a serious lack of trained personnel in 30 to 40 age group, caused by educational wreck during the 'cultural revolution' becomes explicitly alarming in the 1980s.[1]

Based on the findings of this study, there is abundant evidence that education in the People's Republic of China, to a general extent, has performed the role of "weather vane" since the year of 1949. It has been expected to serve the two goals of revolution (political ideology) and economic development. The pattern of education that emerges at a given time depends on the relative emphasis given to one or the other of the two goals. When revolution is given primary emphasis, education tends to focus its attention on generating political activities and producing ideological zealots dedicated to the establishment of new social order, for example, a proletarian society. On the other hand, when the development of national economic reconstruction is given a higher priority than revolution, the concern of education is altered to lay emphasis on academic knowledge and to produce the personnel needed for the multifaceted tasks of production, national reconstructions and development. The recurring shifts between the two models obviously demonstrated in the different historical periods of time in the past four decades.

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[1] Discussion with Mr. Jiang Ming-he, a researcher of Shanghai Institute for Talentology Development, in June 18, 1987.

Lifelong and innovative learning, which has been the milestone of adult education worldwide since the 1972 Tokyo Conference, is still awaited for a fuller understanding or the 'concept catch up' in China. As this study has indicated, the country's adult education practice remains in the remedial education orientation. Nevertheless, to a large extent, in terms of adult education and its motivational regard, the Chinese case reflects some remarkable commonalities with the outside world. As we can see, the outcome of research on the analysis of motivations for adult higher education learners, which is elaborated upon in chapter five of this thesis, the list of motives in China including vocational, personal development and social relationship--very much similar to the lists compiled in different societies throughout the world. In this respect, the writer fully expects that along with the vitalization of both formal and non-formal education, lifelong education should be a direction for the educational evolution in China.

Furthermore, it is useful to distinguish between different forms of adult education as a basis for common understanding. Hunter has suggested three categories: 1) Fundamental or basic education; 2) Work-related or updating education; and 3) Discretionary education. (Duke, 1987:25) These forms can be differentiated by goals and assumptions, primary focus, participants, administration or sponsorship, and approach or methodology. In most nations, all three forms exist simultaneously, as they do in China. The degree of priority depends upon the interaction of social and economic factors.

In North America and Europe, the trend toward the provision of endless numbers of options for individual choice has grown rapidly and there is every indication this will continue; therefore, highly motivated adult learners are able to satisfy their desire to learn. At the same time, as more and more Chinese adults complete various levels of education provided by the Adult Education Division of the Ministry of Education, one imagines that opportunities for discretionary education will also increase in China.

However, sociologists raise a question concerning discretionary adult education: whether or not individual potential can develop in isolation from the social structures

within which they live? The approach they envisage is one that embraces the widest possible opportunities for individual learning, with the fruits of that learning being applied to the search for solutions to the real issues that threaten nations and humanity as a whole (Duke, 1987).

With this in mind, it is interesting to recall the model provided by the Chinese in the early days after the 1949 revolution, when every Chinese belonged to a small learning group either at work, at school, or in the neighborhood, where all were dedicated to discovering the implications of the vast changes taking place for individuals and for the society as a whole. The Chinese would probably be the first to point to deficiencies in that particular model, but it has at least symbolic appeal as an indication that a whole society can be mobilized and a structure can be put in place that allows all citizens to learn from and with one another.

In conclusion, the writer wishes to highlight that adult education is not one unified discipline. Consequently, different strategies will be called for in each society, and will vary from one historical period to another or from one group to another within that society. But one future trend seems to stand out above all others: adult education can no longer be viewed as the transmission of knowledge, information, or skills to those who lack them. Rather, the focus is on utilizing knowledge, information and skills from every possible source in the interest of human development within a social context. As for the Chinese case, the whole adult education system will eventually work towards this stage.

In short, adult education in China has developed in circumstances where its culture was backward and the role of adult education was to meet the needs of rapid development of productive forces. It has been continued for a long time, its main emphasis being the popularizing of basic knowledge of the culture. Now, with technology requiring the raising of the educational level of administrative personnel, workers and peasants, new changes are taking place in adult education, namely the targets of enrollment, forms of organization, educational content. The adult education problems that China needs to

explore are becoming more similar to those in technically advanced and culturally developed countries.

Finally, the writer wants to emphasize that as the development of adult education in the People's Republic of China is still in its rudimentary stage, much more research on the formational, conceptual and contextual aspects is required. Some basic theoretical studies are necessary especially during the country's significant transitional period. The writer assumes that for adult education, an encounter to such issues as 'the discretionary versus the instrumental (or vocational)', 'the individual versus society', 'centralization versus decentralization', 'reform versus structural transformation' will contribute to the further improvement of adult education in China.

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APPENDICES

(A - H)

People's Republic of China: New Pinyin Romanization

0753391 7-79

Province-level Names

Conventional	Characters	Pinyin	Pronunciation	Conventional	Characters	Pinyin	Pronunciation
Anhwei	安徽	Anhui	ahn · way	Kweichow	貴州	Guizhou	g_way · joe
Chekiang	浙江	Zhejang	juh · jee_ang	Liaoning	辽宁	Liaoning	lee_ow · ning
Fukien	福建	Fujan	foo · jee_en	Ningsia	宁夏	Ningxia	ning · she_ah
Heilungkiang	黑龙江	Heilongjang	hay · loong · jee_ang	Peking	北京	Beijing	bay · jing
Honan	河南	Henan	huh · nan	Shanghai	上海	Shanghai	shang · hi
Hopeh	河北	Hebei	huh · bay	Shansi	山西	Shanxi	shahn · she
Hunan	湖南	Hunan	hoo · nan	Shantung	山东	Shandong	shahn · doong
Hupeh	湖北	Hubei	hoo · bay	Shensi	陕西	Shaanxi	shun · she
Inner Mongolia	内蒙古	Nei Monggol	nay · mung · goo	Sinkiang	新疆	Xinjiang	shin · jee_ong
Kansu	甘肃	Gansu	gahn · soo	Szechwan	四川	Sichuan	ssu · ch_wan
Kiangsi	江西	Jiangxi	jee_ang · she	Tibet	西藏	Xizang	she · dzang
Kiangsu	江苏	Jiangsu	jee_ang · su	Tientsin	天津	Tianjin	te_en · jin
Kirin	吉林	Jilin	jee · lynn	Tsinghai	青海	Qinghai	ching · hi
Kwangsi	广西	Guangxi	g_wong · she	Yunnan	云南	Yunnan	yu_oon · nan
Kwangtung	广东	Guangdong	g_wong · doong				

*Chronological table of Chinese history**

	Xia dynasty	*c.* twenty-first to sixteenth century B.C.
Shang dynasty		*c.* sixteenth to eleventh century B.C.
	Western Zhou	*c.* eleventh century to 770 B.C.
Eastern Zhou	Chunqiu period (Spring and Autumn period)	770–476 B.C.
	Zhanguo period (Warring States period)	475–221 B.C.
	Qin dynasty	221–207 B.C.
Western Han		206 B.C.–A.D. 24
	Eastern Han	25–220
Three Kingdoms (Wei, Shu, Wu)		220–265
	Western Jin	265–316
Eastern Jin		317–420
	Southern and Northern dynasty	420–589
Sui dynasty		581–618
	Tang dynasty	618–907
Five dynasties		907–960
	Song dynasty (Northern Song and Southern Song)	960–1279
Liao kingdom		916–1125
	Jin kingdom	1115–1234
Yuan dynasty		1271–1368
	Ming dynasty	1368–1644
Qing dynasty		1644–1911

From *La Chine aujourd'hui*, Beijing, Foreign Language Publications, 1982.

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APPENDIX C. THE IDENTITY OF INTERVIEWEES

Mr. Cai Guang-Jian:	President of Shanghai Qian Jin College of Continuing Education
Mr. Cao Zhi-Xing:	Dean, Shanghai Education College of Changning District
Mr. Fang Jing:	Associate Dean, Shanghai Research Institute of Adult Education
Mr. Hu Rui-Wen:	Deputy Director of Shanghai Municipal Higher Education Research Institute
Mr. Huang Xie-An:	Deputy Director, Shanghai Second Polytechnic University
Mr. Jiang Ming-He:	Director of Information Department, Shanghai Institute for Talentology Development
Ms. Li li:	Vice Chairman, Shanghai Research Institute of Adult Education
Mr. Lin Wei-Hua:	Vice President, Shanghai Second Education Institute
Mr. Shen Jin-rong:	Instructor and researcher of Adult Education Institute in Shanghai East China Normal University
Mr. Sun Tai-Sheng:	Dean, Shanghai Worker's University of Jin An District
Mr. Xiao Xue-Jing:	Deputy Director of Shanghai Institute for Talentology Development
Prof. Ye Xin-Hai:	College of Adult Education, Shanghai East China Normal University
Ms. Yun Chuan- Feng:	Director of Vocational Education Section, Shanghai Education Bureau
Mr. Zhao Zhen-Hua:	Deputy Director of Adult Education Section, Shanghai Municipal Higher Education Bureau

APPENDIX D

The Open Questions for the Interviews with the Members of the Adult Education Administrative Units in Shanghai:

1. The major government policy on adult education since 1978
   (1) What is the given guideline by the government?
   (2) How does adult education programme really relate to national policy?
   (3) Who determines the programme, based on what criteria?

2. Policy making and implementation
   (1) What determines the shape and nature of adult education programs -- the job market, national ideology, special interest groups, or government priorities?
   (2) What is done in terms of the present social problems?

3. The philosophy of China's current adult education system.
   (1) What are the learning priorities of adults?
   (2) Who should be responsible for providing adult learning opportunities?
   (3) What is the theoretical base of the present adult education system?

4. The divergent practice of adult education.
   (1) How many forms presently exist in adult education programme in Shanghai?
   (2) What are the basic structures of the programme?

5. Implementation and future expectation.
   (1)What is your opinion about strength and weaknesses of the present adult education system?
   (2) How could it be improved and promoted?
   (3)What is the future expectation on development of adult education?

APPENDIX E

The Major Questions for Executives and Administrators of Adult Education Institutes:

1. The government's major policies on adult higher education.
   (1) What determines the nature and curriculum of the adult education programs in your institute -- the job market, the needs and demands of the students, the uniformed course work, or the special interest groups?

2. The enrolment system and annual enrolment number.
   (1) Student source
   (2) age scale
   (3) percentage of female students
   (4) occupation (government agency, industrial enterprises, collective or private units)
   (5) percentage of Party or Youth League members
   (6) educational background

3. Curriculum and programme arrangement
   (1) Are there any changes in the course arrangement from 1978 to 1986?
   (2) What criteria is the adjustment based on?

4. The financial support and budget of the institute.
   (1) appropriation from superior organs
   (2) enterprise investment
   (3) contribution of other units or organizations (or individuals)
   (4) tuition fee

5. Staff recruitment system
   (1) teacher student ratio
   (2) annual recruitment
   (3) educational background of staff members

6. Students' assignment and performance after graduation -- same as before, promotion, transfer?

APPENDIX F

THE OVERALL DISTRIBUTION OF ADULT HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN SHANGHAI

1. Categorization According To Administration

State Ministry of Education	Municipal Higher Education Bureau	State Council Ministries	Municipal and District Government Agencies	Municipal Industrial Bureau Councils	Demoncratic Party	Total number of institutions
21	19	9	25	55	1	130

2. Categorization According To Types

General University Affiliated Institutions					Municipal and District Education Colleges	Administrator's Colleges	Industrial College	Sparetime Colleges	Staff Colleges	Television University	Industrial Commercial College	Fine Arts College	Total Schools and Branch Sections
Correspondence Schools	Evening Schools	Staff Specialty Training Centres	Cadre's Education	Teacher's Advancement Training									
9	25	16	32	10	12	6	1	11	57	1	1	1	182

Source: Catalogue of Curriculum for Adult Higher Education in Shanghai -- the Year of 1985-1986
Shanghai Higher Education Bureau, Department of Staff Education, 1985 p.1
(Chinese in original version, translated by the writer)

APPENDIX G

CURRICULUM OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF INSTITUTIONS (1985-1986)

East China Normal University Correspondence Section (State Education Ministry)

Degree Programs: Chinese, History, Geography, Physics, Mathematics, Biology.

Two-year Programs: Library Science, Political History.

Tong Ji University Correspondence Section (State Education Ministry)

Degree Programs: Industrial and Civil Architecture, Bridge Engineering, Industrial Automation, Heating and Ventilation, Drainage Works, Engineering Measurement, Road Construction.

East China Normal University Evening School

Degree Programs: Chinese Language and Literature, English, Physics, Biology, Mathematics, Chemistry, Electric Engineering, Business Management.

Two-year Programs: Psychology of Pre-school Education, Political Education.

Shanghai University Evening School (Shanghai Higher Education Bureau)

Three-year Programs:

College of Arts: Sociology, Library Science, Archives, Secretary, Civil Law.

College of Engineering: Mechanical Manufacture, Semiconductor, Applied Computer Science, Electronics Technology and Radio Technology.

College of Commerce and Administration: Business Management, Accounting, Measurement Technology.

College of International Commerce: English, Japanese

Fu Dan University Professional Training Section (State Education Ministry)

Two-year Programs:

Engineering Mechanics, Industrial Economic Management, Political Science, Chinese Language and Literature, Demography, Secretary, Financial Administration.

Shanghai Agriculture University Professional Training Section

Three-year Programs:

Dairy and Livestock, Forestry, Veterinary Science, Vegetable Farming.

East China Normal University Professional Training Section

Two-year Programs:

Political History, Psychology of Business Management, Environmental Science, Modern Management and Statistics, Public Administration, Civil Law, Family Planning & Birth Control.

Shanghai Industrial University Professional Training Section (Shanghai Higher Education Bureau)

Three-year Programs:

Political Theory Education, Industrial Accounting, Industrial Foreign Trade, Industrial Business Management, Industrial Management Engineering.

Shanghai Education Institute (Municipal Education Council)

Degree Programs:

Chinese, Chinese Literature, English, History, Geography, Mathematics, Phusics, Chemistry, Physical Culture, Political Education.

Two-year Programs:

Biology, Statistics, Library and Information Science, Applied Electronics Technology, Chemical Analysis, Educational Management, Dress Design.

Shanghai Jing An District Sparetime University (District Government Agency)

Three-year Programs:

Chinese Language and Literature, Electrical Automation, Mechanical Manufacturing Technology, Micro-computer Application, Industrial Business Administration.

Shanghai Institute of Medical Staff (Municipal Medicine Council)

Three-year Programs:

Clinical Science, Public Hygiene, Nursing Science, Environmental Hygienic Management.

Shanghai Television University (Municipal Education Ministry)

Three-year Programs:

Chinese Literature, Civil Law, journalism, Archives, Library Science, Industrial Accounting, Commercial Accounting, Industrial Statistics, Finance and Banking, Management Engineering, Business Management, Mechanical Engineering, Eletric Engineering, Civil Architecture,

Basic Training for Party and Government Personnel.

Worker's College of Shanghai Turbine Plant
(shanghai Industrial Bureau of Mechanics and Electronics)

Three-year Programs:

Politics, Physical Education, English, Japanese,
Higher Mathematics, Engineering Mathematics,
Mechanical Drawing, General Physics,
General Chemistry, Algorithmic Language,
Theoretical Mechanics, Electric Engineering,
Materials Mechanics & Turbine System,
Engineering Thermodynamics & Heat Condition,
Fluid & Gas Kinetics, Electronics Technology,
Metal Materials & Thermal Treatment,
Principle of Machinery, Machinery Parts,
Metal Technology & Tolerance Technology Measurement,
Measurement Techniques, Regulatory Systems,
Principle and Structure of Turbines,
Fracture Mechanics, Mechanical viberation,
Enterprises Management.

Source: Catalogue of Curriculum for Adult Higher Education in Shanghai--Year of 1985-1986

Shanghai Higher Education Bureau, Department of Staff Education, 1985. (Chinese in original version, translated by the author)

APPENDIX H

A BRIEF INTRODUCTION OF THE CHINESE DEMOCRATIC PARTIES

Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang

The patriotic and democratic members of the former Kuomintang founded two organizations -- the San Min Zhu Yi (the Three People's Principles) Comrades' Federation and the Kuomintang Association for promoting Democracy -- in 1945 and 1946 respectively. On January 1, 1948, the two organizations joined together to form the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang. The majority of its members are former Kuomintang members and those who have had historical connections with the Kuomintang in the cultural, educational, health and financial fields.

China Democratic League

In September 1944, the China Democratic League grew out of the China League of Democratic Political Organizations, which had been set up in 1941. Its members are mostly intellectuals working in the fields of culture, education and science.

China Democratic National Construction Association

Founded in December 1945, its members are mainly former industrialists and businessmen and intellectuals connected with them.

China Association for Promoting Democracy

This association was established in December 1945 and is composed mainly of teachers and staff of primary and middle schools and people working in the fields of culture and publications.

Chinese Peasants' and Workers' Democratic Party

Its predecessor, the Provisional Action Committe of the Kuomintang, was founded in August 1930. In Februay 1947, this committee changed its name into the Chinese Peasants' and Workers' Democratic Party. Most of its members work in the field of public health and medicine.

China Zhi Gong Dang

It was formerly an organization formed by some members of the Hongmen Zhi Gong Dang among compatriots in Hong Kong and overseas Chinese. In 1946, the China Zhi Gong Dang resumed its activities in Hong Kong and later moved its headquarters to GuangZhou. Most of its members are returned overseas Chinese and their relatives.

Jiu San Society

The society grew out of the Democratic and Science Society -- a political organization of people in academic circles. To commemorate the victories of the War of Resistance against Japan and the worldwide anti-fascist war, the society changed its name to the Jiu San Society on September 3, 1945. Its members are mostly noted scientists and technologists.

Taiwan Democratic Self-government League

Founded in November 1947, its members are mainly natives of Taiwan Province who live on the mainland of China.

All China Federation of Industry and Commerce

This is a people's organization composed of industrialists and businessmen all over the contry and was founded in October 1953. It is composed of socialist labours in the former industrial and commercial circles, and patriots who support and wish to reunify socialist China.

Source: Beijing Review No.45 November 7, 1983.